

THE EISENHOWER LIBRARY



3 1151 02676 8113

174,296

Library



Johns Hopkins University



VERGIL IN THE CHRISTIAN WRITERS

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the
Johns Hopkins University, in conformity with the re-
quirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

BY

Harrison Cadwallader Coffin

1920

CONTENTS

	Page
Bibliography.....	i-iv
Introduction.....	1
M. Minucius Felix.....	5
Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus.....	8
Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus.....	18
Novatianus.....	23
Arnobius.....	27
Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius.....	31
Julius Firmicus Maternus.....	44
Commodianus.....	50
Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Iuvencus.....	55
Victorinus.....	60
Proba.....	61
Damasus.....	63
Ambrosius.....	65
Hieronymus.....	70
Aurelius Augustinus.....	77
Aurelius Prudentius Clemens.....	88
Paulinus Nolanus.....	92
Rufinus.....	95
Sulpicius Severus.....	98
Paulus Orosius.....	100
Prosper of Aquitaine.....	105
Claudius Marius Victor.....	108
Sedulius.....	109
Dracontius.....	113
Paulinus of Pella.....	116
Avitus and Paulinus Petricordiae.....	118
Orientius.....	119
Apollinaris Sidonius.....	121
Mamertus Claudianus and Ruricius.....	124
Luxorius, Mavortius, and Coronatus.....	127
Ennodius.....	129
Salvianus.....	133
Fabius Planciades Fulgentius.....	135
Cassiodorus.....	148
Boethius.....	153
Conclusions.....	157

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Part I, Texts

(Note:-Wherever possible the critical editions of the Vienna Corpus, the Monumenta Germaniae Auctorum Antiqua, or of the Teubner Series have been consulted; it is only in default of these that reference has been had to Migne's Patrologia. The quotations from Vergil are according to the edition of F. A. Hirtzel, Oxford, 1900.)

- Ambrosius, Schenkl, Corp. Vind., Vol. 32
Petschenig, Corp. Vind., Vol. 62
Migne, Patrologia, Vols. 14--17
- Arnobius, Reifferscheid, Corp. Vind. Vol. 4
- Augustine, Zycha, Corp. Vind. Vols. 25, 28, 41, 42
Hoffman, Corp. Vind. Vol. 40
Knoell, Corp. Vind. Vol. 33
Goldbacher, Corp. Vind. Vol. 34
Weirich, Corp. Vind. Vol. 12
Petschenig, Corp. Vind. Vol. 52
Souter, Corp. Vind. Vol. 56
Urba-Zycha, Corp. Vind. Vol. 60
Confessiones, Knoell, Leipzig, 1898 (Teub.)
De Civitate Dei, Dombart, Leipzig 1909 (Teub.)
Migne, Patrologia, Vols. 32-47
- Avitus, Peiper, Mon. Germ. Auct. Antiq. Vol. VI
- Boethius, Brendt, Corp. Vind. 48
De Inter. Meiser, Leipzig, 1877 (Teub.)
De Inst. Arith. Friedlein, Leipzig, 1867 (Teub.)
De Inst. Mus. " " " " "
De Consol. Peiper, Leipzig, 1871 (Teub.)
Migne, Patrologia, Vol. 64
- Cassiodorus, Migne, Patrologia, Vols. 69-70
Mommsen, Mon. Germ. Auct. Antiq. Vol. XI
- Claudianus Mamertus, Engelbrecht, Corp. Vind. Vol. 11
- Commodianus, Dombart, Corp. Vind. Vol. 15
Ludwig, Leipzig, 1878 (Teub.)
- Coronatus, Riese, Anth. Lat. No. 223
Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, No. 190
- Cyprian, Hartel, Corp. Vind. Vol. 23
- Damasus, Ihm, Leipzig, 1895 (Teub.)

- Dracontius, Duhn, Leipzig, 1873 (Teub.)
Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, V, pp. 214-5, 219
- Ennodius, Hartel, Corp. Vind. Vol. 6
Vogel, Mon. Germ. Auct. Antiq. Vol. VII
- Firmicus Maternus, Halm, Corp. Vind. Vol. 2
Ziegler, Leipzig, 1907 (Teub.)
- Fulgentius, Helm, Leipzig, 1898 (Teub.)
- Hieronymus, Zingerle, Corp. Vind. Vol. 22
Hilberg, " " " " " 54
Reiter, " " " " " 59
Migne, Patrologia, Vols. 22-30
- Iuvenus, Huemer, Corp. Vind. Vol. 24
Marold, Leipzig, 1886 (Teub.)
- Lactantius, Brandt, Corp. Vind. Vols. 19, 27
- Luxorius, Riese, Anth. Lat. I, 18, 203, 287-375
Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, IV, pp. 237-40, 331,
386-425
- Claudius Marius Victor, Schenkl, Corp. Vind. Vol. 16
- Mavortius, Riese, Anth. Lat. No. 10
Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, No. 200
- Minucius Felix, Boenig, Leipzig, 1903 (Teub.)
Waltzing, " " 1912 " "
Halm, Corp. Vind. Vol. 2, pp. 3-56
- Novatianus, Migne, Patrologia 3
De Cib. Iud., Landgraf-Weyman, Archiv, Vol. 11, 226-239
De Trin. Fausset, Cambridge 1909
- Orientius, Ellis, Corp. Vind. Vol. 16
Bellanger, Paris and Toulouse, 1903
- Orosius, Zangemeister, Corp. Vind. Vol. 5
" " " " Leipzig, 1889 (Ed. Min. Teub.)
- Paulinus Nolanus, Hartel, Corp. Vind. Vols. 29, 30
- Paulinus of Pella, Brandes, Corp. Vind. Vol. 16
- Paulinus of Perigueux, Petschenig, Corp. Vind. Vol. 16
- Proba, Schenkl, Corp. Vind. Vol. 16
- Prosper of Aquitaine, Migne, Patrologia, Vol. 51
- Prudentius, Dressel, Leipzig, 1860

- Rufinus, Migne, Patrologia, Vol. 21
- Ruricius, Engelbrecht, Corp. Vind. Vol. 21
- Salvianus, Pauly, Corp. Vind. Vol. 8
Halm, Mon. Germ. Auct. Antiq. / 11
- Sedulius, Huemer, Corp. Vind. Vol. 10
- Sulpicius Severus, Halm, Corp. Vind. Vol. 1
- Apollinaris Sidonius, Luetjohann, Mon. Germ. Auct. Antiq. VIII
Mohr, Leipzig, 1895 (Teub.)
- Tertullian, Migne, Patrologia, Vols. 1-2
Reifferscheid-Wissowa, Corp. Vind. Vol. 20
Apology, Mayor, Cambridge, 1917
- Victorinus, Martel, Corp. Vind. Vol. 3

Part II, General Works

- S. Angus, The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's
De Civitate Dei, Princeton Diss., 1906
- A. Baumgartner, Lateinische und Griechische Christliche Literatur, Freiburg, 1905
- L. Bayard, Le Latin de St. Cyprian, Paris, 1902
- L. Bellanger, Le Poème d'Orientius, Paris and Toulouse, 1903
- A. du Bois, La Latinité d'Ennodius, Paris, 1903
- Ella Bourne, The Messianic Prophecy in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue,
Classical Journal, Vol. XI, p. 390, ff.
- G. Buerner, Virgils Einfluss bei den Kirchenschriftstellern der
vornikaenischen Periode, Erlangen Diss. 1902
- S. T. Collins, The Interpretation of Vergil with Special Reference
to Macrobius, Oxford, 1909
- Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages (Trans. E. F. M. Benecke,
London, 1895)
- F. Dexel. Des Prudentius Verhaeltniss zu Vergil, Erlangen Diss.
1907
- A. Ebert, Literatur des Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1889
- F. Ermini, Il Centone di Proba e la Poesia Centonaria Latina,
Rome, 1909
Peristephanon, Rome, 1914
- O. Ferrari, Un Poeta Cristiano del V Secolo (Claudius Marius
Victor), Pavia, 1912

- E. Geisler, *De Apollinaris Sidonii Studiis*, Berlin Diss. 1885
- R. de Gourment, *Le Latin Mystique*, Paris, 1913
- J. T. Hatfield, *A Study of Juvenius*, J. H. U. Diss. 1890
- M. Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana*, in *Fleckeisens Jahr. Supplb.* 17, p. 81
- H. Jordan, *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1911
Rhythmische Prosa in der altchristlichen lateinischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1905
- E. B. Lease, *A Syntactic, Stylistic, and Metrical Study of Prudentius*, J. H. U. Diss. 1895
- J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, London, 1906
- M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Christlichen - Lateinischen Poesie*, Stuttgart, 1891
- J. B. Mayor, W. W. Fowler, R. S. Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, London, 1907
- P. Monceaux, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, Paris, 1901
- E. Noeldechen, *Die Quellen Tertullians in seinem Buch von den Schauspielen*, *Philol. Supplb.* 6, p. 729, ff.
- E. Norden, *Die Antika Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1898
- Carlo Pascal, *Didone nella letteratura Latina d'Africa*, Athenaeum, 1917, Vol. V, p. 285, ff.
- René Pichon, *Histoire de la Littérature Latine* *Paris 1905*
Lactance, Paris, 1901
- M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Roemischen Literatur*
- J. Schell, *De Sulpicio Severo Sallustianae Livianae Taciteae Elocutionis Imitatore*, Monasterii Guestf. 1892
- P. Schwieger, *Der Zauberer Virgil*, Berlin, 1897
- W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der Roemischen Literatur* (ed. 6)
- J. S. Tunison, *Master Vergil*, Cincinnati, 1888
- L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine*, Toulouse, 1900
- J. Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, Munich, 1907
- E. Vivona, *De Iuvenci Poetae Amplificationibus*, Parma, 1903
- M. Zink, *Der Mytholog Fulgentius*, Wurzburg, 1867.

VERGIL IN THE CHRISTIAN WRITERS

This study is an attempt to trace the Vergilian tradition in the Christian Latin writers. So far as I know, this special field of Vergil's activity has never been investigated. Much has been written about Vergil's influence on succeeding schools of literature, both ancient and modern, C mparetti in his "Vergil in the Middle Ages" has established the Vergilian tradition for that period, various studies have been made of the influence of Vergil upon individual writers, but no attempt has been made to determine how the patristic writers in general used Vergil. Georg Buerner in his monograph "Vergils Einfluss bei den Kirchenschriftstellern der Vornikaenischen Periode" (Erlangen Diss., 1902) has confined his attention to the external or linguistic influence of the poet; that is, his work is merely a compilation of the echoes and imitations of Vergil which appear in the ecclesiastical writers of the period named. He has made no effort to indicate the attitude of the patristic writers toward Vergil; his work is of value only in so far as it lists the Vergilian phrases which occur in the Christian writers of the first three and one-half centuries.

The purpose of this study is quite different. I am not concerned with verbal reminiscences save in so far as they serve to explain other points. I have endeavored to determine what the Christians thought of Vergil as a man and as a poet; to what extent they quote him; in what respects and to

what extent he is considered an authority; in how far he is regarded as the typical poet and his characters as typical characters. From data of this nature I have attempted to indicate the growth and development of the tradition of Vergil among the Christians. In order to accomplish this, I have included some material which may at first sight appear to be not germane to the subject. The extent to which Vergil is used by any one writer is conditioned largely by the character of the man and by the character of the times in which he lived. In order to elucidate these points I have added biographical details of the authors considered, I have spoken of dates and authenticity, I have even ventured to include some small amount of literary criticism. None of this is gratuitous; it all has a bearing, however remote, on the subject in hand. One further justification for including such details as those just mentioned is the fact that the sum total of scholarly production and general knowledge on the subject of the patristic writers is not very large--a fact which I have had frequent occasion to observe and deplore in the course of the preparation of this study.

For a study of this character it would be inadvisable both as regards space and utility to attempt to pass in review all the vast bulk of the ecclesiastical writings. I have, therefore, set an arbitrary limit, and have extended my investigations only as far as Boethius. This offers a satisfactory terminus, first because the period considered yields a sufficiency of material, second because Boethius is the last of the Latin writers in whom there is any of the classical spirit, and third

because after Boethius the ecclesiastical tradition of Vergil merges into the popular tradition which has already been elaborated by Comparetti.

In my discussion of the authors I have made little attempt to group them into "movements" or "schools of literature", but have, on the contrary, considered each one individually in order to determine the Vergilian influence in each special case; and then from the particulars so drawn, I have attempted to posit my generalizations for the whole period under discussion. This individual method of treatment has necessitated a certain amount of repetition, and has added to the length of the work, but, on the contrary it has, I think, enabled me to present the material in a more convenient and accessible form. I have not attempted to give a complete history of ecclesiastical Latin down to Boethius; I have, on the other hand, omitted discussion of some of the less important authors in whom the Vergilian tradition is either lacking or so negligible as to be of no importance. The list is, however, fairly complete; for the great majority of the patristic authors, and certainly all of any importance, yield up ample material for an investigation of this kind. Again, the amount of space devoted to any one writer is apportioned not in respect to his intrinsic merit, but in respect to his importance in the history of Vergilian tradition. Thus Jerome, scholar and "Christian Cicero" plays a smaller rôle than Fulgentius, sciolist and mystic, whose relation to Vergil is of a specialized character inasmuch as he developed a new genre of Vergilian interpretation.

Those who expect to find a complete compilation of Vergilian echoes and reminiscences will be disappointed, for to make such a compilation was no part of my purpose. It is true that in many instances I have noted such recollections and imitations, but I have made no effort to make the list exhaustive. My treatment of the Vergilian echoes has been purely eclectic; in the cases where I have quoted them, I have chosen only such as I considered representative, and I have quoted only such as would serve as illustrations. In the vast extent of the patristic writings of the first five centuries there are many Vergilian echoes, either explicit or latent, which I have left undisturbed; to include them would in no way have furthered my own purpose, and would have served only to distend beyond all reason a discussion which is already sufficiently long.

Finally, I wish to add a word on a small but vexed point. For my own use I have consistently adopted the spelling Vergil, since I believe the other spelling Virgil to be without any warrant. In the case of direct quotations, however, I have in all cases retained the orthography of the authority quoted.

M. MINUCIUS FELIX

The earliest extant work of Christian Latinity is the Octavius of M. Minucius Felix. The exact date of the work is uncertain, but it probably belongs either to the period of Marcus Aurelius or of Commodus.

The Octavius is a dialogue which sets forth with some eloquence and cleverness the arguments then current against Christianity and the adherents of that new and dangerous creed, and then proceeds to refute those arguments. The eloquence of Minucius Felix may be taken as a matter of course, for he was a causidicus, that is an advocate, but more than anything else he impresses us as being one steeped in the "heathen" or "pagan" literature. It is probable that "his studie was but litel on the bible", yet certain of the heathen classics he seems to have known by heart. The classical echoes, some of them, it must be confessed rather faint, which have been collected by Boenig and by Waltzing in their editions of the Octavius and by Buerner in his dissertation, show that our legal friend had Vergil and Cicero at his finger tips, and attest a knowledge of the classics in general which would reflect credit on any man.

In spite of the many reminiscences of Vergil in which Minucius Felix abounds, only once does he quote Vergil directly, and then it is to furnish the first example in Christian literature of a phenomenon which later becomes only too common, namely, the quoting of Vergilian lines which are supposed

to contain theories which bear a resemblance, real or fancied, to certain Christian doctrines. Minucius is here (Octavius 18, 19) discussing the unity of God. He says that no name should be sought for God, that His name is God, and that suffices. He proceeds: "I listen to the crowd; when they stretch forth their hands to heaven they say nothing but "God", and "God is great", and "God is true", and "if God grant". Is this a natural way for the crowd to express itself, or is it a Christian's natural way of confessing his faith? And they who say that Jove is supreme are mistaken in the name, but are in agreement with regard to his single power." Then (section 19) comes this remarkable statement:

"Audio poetas quoque unum patrem divum atque hominum
 praedicantes, et talem esse mortalium mentem qualem
 parens omnium diem duxerit. Quid? Mantuanus Maro
 nonne apertius, proximius, verius "principio" ait
 "caelum ac terras" et cetera mundi membra "spiritus
 intus alit, et infusa mens agitat, inde hominum
 pecudumque genus" et quicquid aliud animalium?
 Idem alio loco mentem istam et spiritum deum nominat.
 Haec enim verba sunt:

"Deum namque ire per omnes
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,
 unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes."

Quid aliud et a nobis deus quam mens et ratio et spiritus
 praedicatur?"

In this passage, in proving his theological doctrine, Minucius has employed a strange combination of Vergilian lines. The principio caelum ac terras is from Aeneid VI, 724; the cetera mundi membra the

"camposque liquentis
 lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra"

of Aeneid VI, 724--5. "spiritus intus alit et infusa mens
 agitat, inde hominum pecudumque genus" is taken with some slight

changes from Aeneid VI, 726, ff.:

"spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitaeque volantum".

The quotation which Minucius gives a little further down:

Deum namque ire per omnes, terrasque tractusque maris cae-
lumque profundum, unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber
et ignes is a blend of one line from the Aeneid with two

from the Georgics. The first two lines are from Georgics
IV, 221, ff.,

"deum namque ire per omnis,
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum",

while the third line quoted is from Aeneid I, 743:

"unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes".

This, the only direct quotation from Vergil in the whole
of the Octavius would seem to indicate that Vergil was already
beginning to be thought of as an authority, even if he were
not yet esteemed the mighty wizard and universal genius which
he later became. Minucius was too good a classical scholar
entirely to have lost sight of Vergil as a purely literary
figure, he is too near the classical age to look upon him as
entirely prophet and seer; and yet so great was the Mantuan's
name, and so universal his reputation, that in an argumentum
ad verecundiam like this, the authority of the pagan writer
on such a fundamental point as the unity of God seemed of the
utmost weight to the Christian apologist.

A very noteworthy feature of the Octavius is the fact
that there appears in it none of that violent prejudice against
the pagans such as disfigures the pages of some of the later
Christian writers. In later times, when enthusiasm had become

bigotry, and persecution had embittered the none too gentle souls of the Church Fathers, such men as Tertullian and Arnobius summoned up all their powers of invective to attack the heathens, but there is not a whisper of this in Minucius Felix. He treats the classic authors as a gentleman and a scholar should; he uses Vergil to support his arguments without maligning him afterwards. Vergil had made a deep impression on Minucius as he afterwards did on many of the other ecclesiastical writers; he looked upon him as an author remarkable not only for his wisdom but for his morality, and therefore quoted his words in support of the principles of Christianity. Minucius looked upon Vergil also as a great literary figure, and the evidence in the Octavius shows that Vergil still occupied in the Christian literature the same position that he had occupied among the pagans. But we can also trace in him the beginnings of the tendency to look upon Vergil as an omniscient authority, as well as the earliest hint of the attempt to reconcile the words of the master poet whom they loved with the ideas and ideals imposed upon them by the new faith.

QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS

Of all the Christian apologists, the most original and daring in many ways is Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, ordinarily known, for the sake of brevity, as Tertullian. Tertullian is the first, as he is the greatest, of the African school of ecclesiastical writers. He was born at Carthage near the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius. His dates are tenta-

tively set at 150 to 230 A. D. He was reared in his native city, and on his own confession led a rather dissolute life as a young man. At that time he took huge delight in all of the worldly pleasures upon which he afterwards turned his ex-coriating satire. In spite of his fondness for "revels and ungodly glee" he found time to do a great deal of reading. When he devoted himself to study, he threw himself into the task with that whole-hearted zeal which he always displayed when entering upon any field of action. Like many other men of his type he had the saving grace of a passionate curiosity, a curiosity which it was indeed difficult to satisfy. He seems to have read everything that came his way: poets, historians, philosophers, Greek or Latin--everything was grist that came to his mill. He could write Greek as fluently as he could Latin. Since he was further gifted with a phenomenal memory in addition to his tremendous energy, he was not long in acquiring a knowledge that[^] encyclopaedic. He succeeded in digesting practically all of the learning of his time; his startling erudition is attested by the [tremendous] number of quotations and references of all kinds to be found in his work, as well as by his own statements of what he had read. There is a theory--not very well substantiated to be sure--that he followed the profession of a rhetorician. At any rate, he preserved all his life the attitude of the professor of rhetoric, and seemed to have kept a pleasant recollection of the time which he had spent in the schools at Carthage. Not content with the formal and conventional learning

of the schools, Tertullian made a searching and exhaustive study of the law. This stood him in good stead later; for when he came to defend Christianity, he summoned up his vast store of legal knowledge and used it to good effect against the pagans. In his hands jurisprudence became a weapon; it made of him a most redoubtable wielder of polemic.

Tertullian's parents were pagans, and he himself probably remained a pagan until he reached maturity. In his own words (Apol. 18) "People become Christians, they are not born so." He was not a man to do things by halves; hardly had he been converted when he devoted to the defence of his new faith his restless energy and his remarkable literary talents. He began his career as a Christian at the time when the persecutions in Africa had been resumed after the death of Commodus. Nothing could have pleased Tertullian more. A born fighter, he welcomed gladly the opportunity to prove his mettle. He began with writing apologies, but after learning that his chief strength was in attack, he passed easily to the offensive. He turned upon the pagans the slurs which they had cast upon Christianity, and drew up a terrible and searching indictment of the whole system of paganism, "painted" as Professor Mackail says, "in all the gaudiest colors of African rhetoric." Having vanquished the pagans, he turned his attention to those in the church who had been unwise or incautious enough to incur his hatred. He joined the sect of the Montanists, and hurled his invectives against even the Pope of Rome. Finally he seems to have estranged everybody, and to have ended his life in complete loneliness.

Tertullian had no hesitancy in condemning along with paganism the pagan culture, so much of which he had absorbed, and to which he owed so much. He is one of the first to reject the pagan classics as authorities, and to hold up the Holy Scriptures as the source of all wisdom. This doctrine included the theory that all the poetical and philosophical ideas of Greece and Rome were either borrowed or adapted from the Old Testament, to which alone belonged true inspiration. Briefly, the basis of the argument is that all later literature is derived from that which preceded it. Moses antedated Homer; therefore Moses is the source from which Homer drew his material. The attitude which Tertullian took with regard to the arts is duplicated by that of the Puritans in England; both are marked by the same religiosity, the same misplaced fervor, the same rabid intolerance of all things whose basis cannot be found in the Holy Scriptures. Tertullian blasts with his invective the theatre and all who are attracted by its sinful lures, he fulminates against the gladiatorial shows, he inveighs against luxury in apparel; few indeed are the practices of life at that time which do not suffer from his corrosive comments. The tragedy of it all was that these attacks on literature and on culture in general pointed the way to those persecutions of culture which laid waste art and literature on every side, until they disappeared in the silent centuries of the age of "Christian barbarism".

Never has the well-worn aphorism that the "style is the

man" been better exemplified than in Tertullian. His style has been compared to polished ebony, dark but glistening. It has been said that he is without doubt the most difficult author in the Latin language, and so he is, especially to a reader who is familiar only with the classical Latin; for Tertullian had broken with the classical tradition to such an extent that there is scarcely any point of contact between his style and that which can be called truly classical. He is not a careless writer--he had a marvellous power over phrase--but to him form meant little; the idea, the thought is the only important thing. Tertullian was a profound student of the Scriptures; hence his style is flavored with Hebraisms, as well as with the speech of the common people to whom he professed to appeal. Nothing could be more different than the rapid, turbid, inflated style of Tertullian, and the calm, even Latinity of his predecessor Minucius.

The classics and classical authors were by no means safe from the irritation which Tertullian manifested against things in general after his conversion to Christianity. He professed to address himself to the common people who had no literary training, and needed none, since the Scriptures were the source of all wisdom. Tertullian was consistent in this at least, he was himself a remarkable biblical scholar, he knew the Bible as well as he knew the pagan authors upon whom he vents his spite from time to time. In one passage he refers to the dream

of Ennius in which Homer said that he remembered having been a peacock, and adds the scorching phrase (De Anima 53): sed poetis nec vigilantibus credam, "I would not believe poets, even when they are awake." This has been thought by some to prove that his preferences were in favor of prose writers, but the conclusion does not necessarily follow; I think he is merely expressing his opinion on literary men in general. At any rate, he is by no means backward in quoting poets when they serve his turn.

Tertullian's use of quotations bears on our subject in a most interesting fashion. He belonged in an age when it was customary to heap up great masses of quotations. In their eagerness to collect an imposing array of these authorities, writers of this period entirely neglected the relation between earlier testimony and that of a later date. Thus Tertullian betrays an extremely uncritical attitude in his choice of authorities; his quotations are copious rather than select. He gathers together early and late authorities without weighing their importance; so, for example, in the De Spectaculis, Vergil and Timaeus appear together, as do Hesichorus and Varro. Tertullian has himself given a description of the varied ways in which some authors used Vergil. He says; (De Praescr. Haeret., 39), "Vides hodie ex Vergilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. Denique Rosidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime expressit,--you see what they do with Vergil nowa-

1
Cf. E. Noeldechen, Die Quellen Tertullians in seinem Buch von den Schauspielen, Philologus, Supplb. 6, pp. 730, 739.

days; they accomodate him to entirely different stories, they adapt his verses to other subjects, his subjects to other verses. Thus Porcius Geta extracted from Vergil the whole of his tragedy the *Medea*." As we shall see later on, Tertullian was not entirely clear himself from this charge which he levels against others.

The traces of Vergil are not so frequent in Tertullian as one might expect, knowing the range of his reading; nevertheless in spite of his supposed scorn for the classics, even he quotes Vergil as an authority. The *Georgics* are quoted in the *De Spectaculis* (Sec. 9), and in the *Ad Nationes* (2, 13), where the Golden Age is described in Vergilian verses. The work which is used most frequently is the *Aeneid*. For example, Tertullian takes a patriotic pride in causing Dido to play a prominent rôle in his writings. He asks whether Juno would have wished that Carthage be destroyed by the sons of Aeneas, and on this question refers to the authority of Vergil. In another treatise, where he is concerned with the military greatness of Carthage, the same Vergilian passage reappears. (*De Pall.*, 1). The phrase from the *Aeneid*, III, 415,

"tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas"

which occurs in a description of how an earthquake had separated Sicily and Italy, is used by Tertullian where he says that the battering-ram, an invention of the Carthaginians, is now a strange and foreign marvel to them. (*De Pall.* I). He quotes the same passage in another place in strict relation to its context as though to indicate that he knew the real Vergil. (*Apol.* 40). He uses the famous passage from the

fourth book descriptive of the growth of Fama in his discussion of the reports which had been spread concerning the Christians. The Aeneiae scrofae of Adv. Marc. I, 5, are the symbolic swine of Aeneid VIII, 42. The eleventh book of the Aeneid leaves several traces in the Apology of Tertullian. Especially significant here is the reproof administered to Aeneas, who in the Laurentian battle was conspicuous by his absence. This last derives additional interest from the fact that Cato had also stressed that phase of the Aeneas legend, so that some question may be raised whether Tertullian was here following Cato ~~of~~ Vergil. The probabilities are that he was following the latter. Tertullian lived in an age when it was hard to establish a line of demarcation between authentic history and mere tradition. Hence it is that Vergil was considered as an authority on religion and morals as well as a text-book on ancient history. It is from this point of view that Tertullian, on the evidence of Vergil, declares Erichthonius to have been the inventor of the four-horse chariot race.

Sometimes Tertullian has used Vergilian material, and has changed it somewhat to accord with a different tradition. This appears particularly in the case of the Dido legend. Tertullian has used Dido as a typical character, but he has not followed the Vergilian version of the story in all its details; on the contrary he has departed from it in some important considerations. In this he was following the tendency of many Latin writers of Africa, both pagan and Christian, who show wide divergence from that form of the Dido legend which, be-

cause of its development by Vergil, had come to be regarded as the standard. The chief point is that these African writers affirm most vigorously the chastity of the unfortunate queen, and her fidelity to the memory of her first husband. Their insistence on this variation of the legend was probably due to patriotic motives; on the other hand it may very well be that a popular form of the legend had grown up among the folk and had gained recognition before the other form became crystallized in Naevius and Vergil.

Chief among those who adhere to what we may call the distinctly African form of the legend is Tertullian. As has been indicated ^{above} ~~before~~, he takes a patriotic pride in referring to Dido because he rejoices to see his native land celebrated in the verses of Vergil, but he never once refers to her ill-starred love affair with Aeneas. Tertullian speaks of Dido as an example of chastity. He distinguishes between two kinds of chastity, that of the feminae saeculares, and that of the Christians; but among those women who won fame by remaining faithful to a single husband he ranks Dido, who preferred to perish in the flames rather than to violate her faith. In another passage he refers to the wife of Hasdrubal, who with more fortitude than her husband did not wish to survive the destruction of her native country, and adds that the example of Dido gave the inspiration for the act (Ad Nat. I, 18). Again he holds up to the philosophers the example of these two courageous women who had braved death, the one in order not to be forced into a second marriage, the other in order not to be obliged to grace the triumph of the victorious Scipio.

For Tertullian, Dido was an exemplum castitatis, and in his treatment of the Dido story he persistently reflects the local legend. It has been suggested that Tertullian learned this form of the legend from Timaeus, whom he also quotes, but it is more likely that he was echoing the local legend¹ which was still in vogue among the people.

The interesting feature of all this is that Tertullian might prefer the version of the legend which was peculiar to his own part of the world, but none the less he takes as a typical example Dido, a Vergilian character. It is doubtless true, as has been suggested, that legends about Dido were still prevalent in Africa, but it may be questioned whether Tertullian would have made such persistent use of the motive had it not been for Vergil.

We have no great difficulty in determining the influence of Vergil upon Tertullian. Buerner remarks (op. cit. p. 15) that only few traces of Vergil can be found in Tertullian's writings. The actual number is few, as compared with those in Lactantius or in Augustine, for example; yet it is evident, from even a cursory examination of Tertullian's work, that he both knew and used Vergil. Buerner's testimony shows that Tertullian's language was noticeably flavored by Vergilian phrases, but this is the smallest part of his debt to Vergil. In spite of the saeva indignatio with which he assails all heathen writers, in spite of his acrid remark that

¹

Cf. Carlo Pascal, *Didone nella letteratura latina d'Africa*, *Ateneum*, Vol. 5, (1917) p. 285, ff.

he would put no credence in poets even when they were awake, our Christian apologist is sufficiently inconsistent to rely on Vergil's authority. Among the auctores multi whom he quotes in the De Spectaculis as authorities on games, horse-racing, etc., Vergil holds a prominent place. Tertullian draws his authorities from all departments of literature, and Vergil's testimony is of equal weight with that of historians. He respected Vergil's influence sufficiently to use his stock characters as exempla. It is true that in the case of Dido he changed the legend to accommodate it to the more or less popular form which obtained in Africa, but the important thing is that he leaned on Vergil enough to use his characters as stock examples, as personified abstractions.

THASCIUS CAECILIUS CYPRIANUS

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, or St. Cyprian, as he is more commonly called, belongs, generally speaking, to the first half of the third century. His dates are given as 200--258. Cyprian was for many years bishop of Carthage, hence in him we find, for the first time in the history of Latin Christian literature, an author who is at the same time a "Church Father" in the true sense, that is to say, a man of really exalted dignity in the church. Tertullian was only a priest without official dignity or authority; Minucius Felix never even entered holy orders.

Cyprian was trained in rhetoric for his career as a churchman, just as Minucius Felix and Tertullian had been, but taking

into account the fact that he enjoyed an ecclesiastical dignity superior to that of the two latter, we might expect to find in his writings a condition of things different from that which obtains in the works of his predecessors. Nor is such a supposition a mistaken one. Cyprian was a diligent student of the writings of Minucius and of Tertullian; indeed he is often spoken of as an imitator of them. Their influence, more especially that of Tertullian, is undeniable, but Cyprian was not content with mere imitation; he follows neither blindly; however much he may be influenced by his distinguished precursors, he still maintains a marked individuality. It is characteristic of Cyprian that he has combined with the savage uncompromising bitterness of Tertullian much of the grace and easy tolerance of Minucius; and this in itself is no mean accomplishment. This passion for individuality of expression, real or assumed, is manifested in other ways as well. The learned bishop of Carthage depends for some of his best linguistic effects upon phrases borrowed or adapted from classic authors, yet not once in the whole body of that work which can be unhesitatingly attributed to Cyprian is any classical author quoted directly. What concerns us more nearly is that not only is Vergil not quoted in Cyprian, but the great apologist has evidently endeavored to conceal the traces of Vergilian influence even in those passages where the sensitive ear can catch a Vergilian echo.

Woelfflin in the Archiv (8, 22), had suggested that is was the duty of the philologist to examine the works of Cyp-

rian for Vergilian reminiscences, and these have been industriously collected by Buerner in his dissertation (pp. 18--26). A consideration of these echoes proves beyond the possibility of a doubt that Cyprian knew Vergil well and intimately, and furthermore, consciously or unconsciously, betrayed his familiarity with the great Roman poet. Yet there is no quotation of Vergil, nor even any direct imitation of him. Vergil's influence on Cyprian tended to color his style, enrich his vocabulary, and lend a poetic tinge to his mode of expression, rather than to furnish him with arguments, or even apt examples or quotations with which to support arguments. As a student in the schools of Carthage, Cyprian had studied both Greek and Latin, had pored over the works of the great writers, had probably, following the custom of the time, made imitations of them. In this way the Carthaginian students were enabled to excise from their own style those peculiarly Carthaginian locutions which to the Roman would have seemed solecisms. Thus the great literary models became so familiar to them that they frequently expressed their own thoughts in the very language of the classic authors. Chief among these models was, of course, Vergil. Hence there is to be detected in St. Cyprian recollections of the model which sometimes extend to actual identity of expression.

That much of the poetic quality of Cyprian's language is

1

Cf. L'Abbé Bayard, *Le Latin de St. Cyprian*, p. xx.

ε

due to reminiscences, deliberate or otherwise, of Vergil, is seen from a glance at the examples collected by Buerner (l. c.), but a consideration of the writings of Cyprian shows that the influence of the classics was not confined to the poetry. It is possible to trace here and there the influence of Cicero, one can at times catch a glimpse of a phrase of Livy, or discern in the midst of a carefully turned paragraph a Tacitean construction. The evidence of all these, taken together, shows that Cyprian had more than an amateur's knowledge of the great classics of Rome. It is due to the help and inspiration which he derived from these classics that Cyprian, an African, was able to write a Latin which betrays no trace of his African origin.

Thus much for the genuine works of Cyprian. There is, however, attributed to him a considerable bulk of spurious work consisting of treatises of various kinds; letters, and some poetry, or at least, verse; and in this last category we find a single quotation from Vergil. It is in the poem entitled Ad Senatorem ex Christiana Religione ad Idolorum Servitutem Conversum, line 60. (Hartel III, p. 304). In this passage, which is not uninteresting on its own account, the author is holding forth on the text that too much of a good thing is very often to be considered an unmitigated evil, in other words, on the ancient dictum "nothing in excess." At line 56 he says:

22

"Esca alitur corpus, corpus corrumpitur esca
Vimque suam minuit, si quid protenditur ultra.
Denique si sedeas, requies est magna laboris:
Si multum sedeas, labor est. Maro namque poeta
Pro poena posuit: 'sedet aeternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus'."

The quotation "sedet aeternumque sedebit/Infelix Theseus"
is from Aeneid VI, 617.

The following, then, are the conclusions drawn from a study of Cyprian. Like all cultivated men of his time, he had from an early age been nourished on the great classics of Greece and Rome. His language, tinged as it is with poetic coloring from the classics, shows that he must have known most of the classic authors by heart. Vergilian echoes and reminiscences indicate that he was especially well acquainted with Vergil, so well acquainted in fact, that Vergilian expressions flow as it were naturally from his pen; his mind is so imbued with the great poet that he employs Vergilian turns of phrase, apparently unconscious of the fact that the expressions are not his own. The fact that Vergil is not quoted directly in any of the writings which we can with any certainty ascribe to Cyprian would seem to indicate that he did not believe in Vergil as the fountain-head of all wisdom, since he does not quote the pagan author to support his Christian doctrine as Minucius Felix had already done. It is undeniable that by this time Vergil was already coming to be considered a universal genius, and a court of last appeal on all matters concerning which there was any dispute, but he does not appear as such in the works of Cyprian. This may be due to the fact that Cyprian's Christianity was of a more

sincere sort. He was deeply versed in the doctrine and dogma of his creed, but he draws his support not from the heathen writers, but from the Bible, in which trait, by the way, he differs from Minucius, who never once quotes Scripture. To Cyprian, Vergil was merely a literary figure, a model after which his language should be patterned. There is in him no trace of Vergil the prophet, or Vergil the magician; he looked upon Vergil in nearly the same light as we do today, namely, that of a consummate literary artist, a man who had given to certain ideas, feelings, and passions an eternal expression which could never be approached, much less improved upon.

NOVATIANUS

Novatianus does not occupy as commanding a position in the field of Christian Latinity as some of the other Church Fathers; in fact compared with such towering figures as Tertullian and Lactantius, he may fairly be called obscure. His importance as an ecclesiastical writer is so slight as compared with that of some of his more illustrious compeers that he has been disproportionately eclipsed by them; indeed most of the historians of Christian literature accord to him merely a passing mention. I have followed the consensus of critical opinion in considering as genuine only two of the treatises sometimes ascribed to Novatianus, i. e. the De Trinitate and the De Cibis Iudaicis. Some of the other spurious works

have been considered in the pseudo-Cyprianic corpus.

We know but little of the life history of Novatianus,¹ but that little suffices to show that in his time he enjoyed a reputation which was a little more than purely local. His dates are unknown. He was a contemporary and opponent of Cyprian, and some of his letters have been dated at about 250, so it is safe to establish his floruit at that time. Novatianus was evidently a man of force, endowed with many of the qualities of a leader. His energy and ambition are attested by his comparatively rapid rise to the rank of presbyter. He was a man of enough importance, and his activity was sufficiently powerful and far-reaching, for him to start a schism in the church. While this schism caused no little trouble, it did not rock the ecclesiastical world to its foundations; the church survived the shock, but the doctrine promulgated by Novatianus spread as far as Spain on the one side, and as far as Syria on the other, and endured as late as the sixth century. From this we may fairly conclude that Novatianus was at least a man of sufficient prominence to give his fellow churchmen some moments' pause.

But it is not Novatianus' doctrine, or even the lack of it, which concerns us here, but rather the rôle which he played as a literary figure. Those who have made a careful study of the style of the man are inclined to wax enthusiastic over his

¹
For a full discussion of the life and career of Novatianus see the Introduction to Fausset's edition of the De Trinitate, p. xiii, ff.

ability as a writer. He is pointed to as the earliest Latin stylistic expert in the Western Church. Tertullian had provided the church with its official terminology, but his style was, as has been indicated, rough and gnarled; in his arguments he "liked to see the bludgeon's dent." Novatianus had profited much by an intensive study of Tertullian, but he set forth his teachings in a style peculiarly his own, a style which had been developed by a careful study of the great masters of classical Latin, more especially Vergil.¹ He had a quick and sure command of language, a just appreciation of the value of words, the ability to strike off a telling phrase at an effective moment. His writing shows that ease and ready grasp of expression which come only from long practice, that facility which is gained only by study, but which is free from any possible taint of laboriousness. His grace and fluency of expression seem at times to accord but ill with the stern and austere tone of some of his writings. In Novatianus, at least, the cultivation of a style did not detract from the natural qualities of his mind, which was stern, almost harshly tempered, and withal a bit impatient. The excellences of Novatianus were so stringly marked and so well defined that even his adversary Cyprian was constrained to admit them. o/

There are many things in the style and feeling of Novatianus to remind one of St. Cyprian, and especially is this true, as Buerner has also pointed out, in the manner and ex-

1

Cf. Fausset, Intro. to De Trin. pp. xviii and xx; Jordan, Rhythmische Prosa in der altchristlichen Literatur, p. 38 ff.

tent in which Vergil is used. Cyprian never quotes Vergil directly, neither does Novatianus. The traces of Vergil in Cyprian are rather faint suggestions which show that the mind of the Christian writer was thoroughly imbued with the writings of the great pagan poet. The same condition obtains in Novatianus. It is seldom that there occurs an exact coincidence of phrase, but time and again there is a hint that Novatianus¹ must have studied Vergil carefully and to good purpose. By this constant study of Vergil both Novatianus and his celebrated opponent were enabled to transfuse into their own writings not a little of the molle atque facetum of their great model.

To Novatianus, as to many another Christian writer Vergil seems to have been purely a literary figure. Here again the influence of Vergil and the extent to which he was employed were conditioned by the character and personality of the ecclesiastical writer himself. A masterly man like Novatianus, who knew his Bible well, would not use Vergil ^{to} so support questions of doctrine as did some of the other Christian apologists. He had no prejudice against the pagan writers nor against their mythology; so he had no occasion to quote Vergil on that score. The various other traditional sides of Vergil's activity seem to have concerned him just as little. The fact that Vergil is never mentioned by name may be due to

¹

See Buerner's dissertation p. 26ff., also notes passim to Landgraf-Weyman's edition of the De Cibis Iudaicis in the Archiv, 11, p. 221, ff.

accident or to design; it is impossible to say. We can, however, determine one point with sufficient definiteness and certainty. Novatianus looked upon Vergil's work as a great literary monument, as an example which he was to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. He was keen enough to observe that it was necessary to study the great classical models in order to arrive at a Latin style; and since Vergil was the chief of the Latin writers it was necessary to devote most time to him. How closely he studied Vergil, and how fruitful that study was, his work clearly shows. I think we are safe in affirming that this prolonged and continual study of Vergil had no small influence in making Novatianus what Schanz has called him,¹ "The most significant figure which appeared among the Roman clergy at the time of Cyprian."

ARNOBIUS

Arnobius was born at Sicca in North Africa. The date of his birth is unknown; but it was between 304 and 310 that he gave to the world his attack on paganism, Adversus Nationes, in seven books. Arnobius was an African rhetorician, with all that that uncomplimentary designation implies. He is as far as possible removed from the clear-cut and polished style of Cyprian, he has little in common with the earlier African school, it is hard to fasten his loose and wandering style down to any school or influence. He delights in the use of words as such, he enjoys juggling with rhetorical figures,

¹ M. Schanz, Geschichte der Roemischen Literatur, sec. 740.

but he lacks the skill necessary to do this with any degree of success. He furnishes an excellent example of the man with little general culture, less, if possible, literary training, and no taste whatever, who has been attacked by the deadly itch for scribbling, and forthwith proceeds to scribble at great length. The judgment pronounced upon him by Hieronymus: Arnobius inaequalis et nimius est--"uneven and ill-proportioned," Professor Mackail has translated it--still impresses us with its justice no less than with its accuracy.

The reason for the production of the Adversus Nationes is this. Arnobius had recently been converted to Christianity, and in order to prove his conversion, in order to demonstrate to his brothers in the new faith that he was sincere in his recantation from the sin and error of the old pagan belief, he wrote his book, attacking with all the zeal of the convert, with all the energy and enthusiasm of misguided earnestness, the pagan beliefs and everything they implied. The first book of the Adversus Nationes is of a general nature, casting back upon the heathen the reproaches which they had heaped upon the Christians; Book II is a diatribe against the philosophers and all their ways and works; Books III--V are a sweeping condemnation of the ancient mythology; Books VI and VII are devoted to an attack on the heathen religion, and all its appurtenances and stage-properties, the temples, images, sacrifices and the rest. The work as a whole is, however, by no means so orderly as such a résumé as the above would indicate; Arnobius' literary failings are matched on-

ly by his ignorance of the religion which he had set himself to defend.

It is scarcely to be expected that a man like Arnobius would be profoundly influenced by the great classics of antiquity, not should we imagine that a book written under such circumstances as the Adversus Nationes would show, either in structure or in style, the influence of classical models. Minucius Felix quotes Vergil directly, Cyprian's language depends for much of its beauty and purity of expression on the reminiscences of Vergil, but not so Arnobius. Buerner has collected all the direct parallels, but as Buerner himself loses no time in showing, the influence of Vergil upon Arnobius is no very direct one. Arnobius' learning is quite of the conventional type. He bandies about the names of the founders of philosophical schools; he refers in a familiar manner to Plato and even quotes him at times; even Homer and Cicero come to his call, but Vergil is never mentioned directly, nor is he ever cited. For that matter, Arnobius exhibits no knowledge whatever of the Old Testament, and an extremely inexact knowledge of the New--a fact which might be considered passing strange in an apologist of the Christian religion.

For a large part of the bewildering array of mythology with which Book IV is filled, Arnobius is indebted to the Protrepticus of Clement of Alexandria, but at least one mythological tale he derived, however indirectly, from the Aeneid. In Book IV, 24 (p. 160, line 23 R.) where Arnobius is fulminating against the mythological beliefs of the heathens he says:

"Numquid pulsum a nobis senem Italorum delituisse in finibus, et quod tutus fuisset a filio, nomen Latio inposuisse pro munere?"

This is an evident reference to the somewhat fanciful etymology of the word Latium which Vergil offers in Aeneid VIII, 319, ff.

"primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul adeptis.
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris."

It may very well be, as Buerner suggests, that in this passage quoted above Arnobius is indulging in polemic against Vergil; certain it is, however, that Arnobius must at least have had Vergil in mind when he waxes so indignant over the tales told by the heathen writers.

In a work of the disjointed character of the Adversus Nationes, it is hard to arrive at any very definite conclusions as to the tradition of Vergil in Arnobius. It is undeniable that Arnobius had read Vergil; but it can with safety be assumed that whatever knowledge he had of the poet and his works was such as he would have gained in the schools of rhetoric. He apparently draws no distinction between Vergil and the other heathen writers whom he mentions only to refute and condemn. As far as we may judge from the evidence, Vergil was not to him the all-powerful magician, the mighty sage whose word was law on all subjects, still less was he the Messianic prophet, the Christian without Christ; he was merely one of those pagan poets whose works might, under proper precautions, be read in rhetorical schools for the sake of illustrating tropes and figures, but nevertheless a man whose

writings it would be well to keep away from the faithful, since they had not been composed under the inspiration which was the particular and peculiar property of the Christian writers.

It may at first sight appear an inconsistency that Arnobius should be so violent in his denunciation of those pagan writers whose works we may suppose him to have read in the days of his unregeneration. We must remember, however, that the Christian Fathers' judgment of the pagan authors depended largely upon circumstances. When inspired by Christian zeal and holy fervor they often vented their spite upon the pagans and their works, as well as upon the misguided people who strayed so far from the path of rectitude as to read those works; but at other times, their natural literary taste, which not even a church training could completely destroy, impelled them to look with favor upon the reading of the great classics of antiquity which they had studied in their youth, and whose influence remained with them, to some extent, all through life.

LUCIUS CAELIUS FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS

Of all the great number of zealous controversialists who waged wordy wars in defence of Christianity, one of the most important, as regards both the style and the subject matter c/ of his writings, was Lactantius. We learn from Hieronymus that he was a pupil of Arnobius; from this fact it has been conjectured that he came from Africa, which land seems to have

been specially adapted for producing apologists of Christianity. Our knowledge of the life of Lactantius is not extensive. We do know that he was born a pagan, and embraced Christianity only when he had reached a mature age. By profession he was a teacher of rhetoric. For many years he was engaged in the active practice of this profession, first in Africa as the pupil and successor of Arnobius, then at Nicomedia as professor of rhetoric, then in Gaul as the tutor of Crispus, the son of Constantine; and it is to this constant exercise and training that he owes his great qualities as a writer: his facility, his ease and clarity of expression, his meticulous devotion to details of form, his love for high-sounding phrases and rolling periods, the qualities in short which won for him the name of the "Christian Cicero." The orthodoxy of some of the doctrines of Lactantius has been brought in question from time to time, but we cannot blink the fact that here was a man eminent as a scholar and a stylist, in addition to his prominence as a defender of the faith.

Lactantius himself recognized the tremendous advantages which accrued to him as a Christian apologist from his studies in rhetoric and the allied arts. In the Divinae Institutiones I, 1, 9, he says that it is better to teach men how to live well than merely how to speak well. For this reason, he says, philosophers were more honored among the Greeks than were orators. Then he proceeds: "Nevertheless this practice in imaginary law-suits has been of great use to me in that I can plead the cause of truth with greater eloquence and flu-

ency."

With regard to the bulk of Lactantius' work, we can judge that he was an author of some fecundity. Before his conversion his literary activity was extensive, but the results of it have perished. Of the rather considerable list of Christian writings attributed to him the most important are the following: De Opificio Dei; Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII; De Ira Dei. Of these the masterpiece is the Divinae Institutiones. This was written after Diocletian's persecution of the Christians in Nicomedia. In addition to the physical force employed against the Christians, some of the literary champions of paganism entered the lists with a series of anti-Christian polemics. It was to combat these that Lactantius wrote his defence of the system of Christianity, the seven books of the Institutes of Divinity. The noticeable feature of this apology is that it is based not on the Holy Scriptures, but on general philosophical theories. This finds its justification in the fact that if he had contented himself with a refutation of paganism, some of his readers might well have retorted that they had no more belief in the pagan pantheon than he had, but they saw no particular necessity for believing in Christ merely because they had rejected the pagan deities. Many of them might have contended that the various philosophical cults of Greece satisfied them. Therefore, since Lactantius was interested in appealing to the learned class, it was necessary for him to demonstrate that Christianity was superior over philosophical systems as well

as over religions.

The result of these influences was, as has been pointed out, that the sources of Lactantius are secular rather than sacred. He leans on the classical authors more heavily than any other Christian writer thus far considered. This influence of the classics is to be traced not only in classical echoes (though Buerner, *op. cit.* p. 38 ff. has collected an imposing array of Vergilian reminiscences), but in a vast number of direct quotations from the ancient writers. These citations which cover an extensive field, and are used for all sorts of purposes, indicate a tremendous amount of reading on the part of Lactantius. Most of his quotations are from the Latin writers, but the Greeks are by no means scorned. As an example of his wide range of authorities Pichon says (*Lactance*, p. 247) "The Bible furnished him with proofs, Varro and Valerius Maximus with facts, Vergil and Ovid with ornaments of style, Seneca with fine maxims." As a matter of fact, the religious sources in Lactantius are less numerous and less important than are these profane sources. He has had recourse to the sacred books only when compelled to do so for the purpose of doctrine; on the other hand, he is constantly in the atmosphere of the pagan classics. His mind is so thoroughly saturated with the works of the literary geniuses of Greece and Rome, that the classical illustration comes seemingly unbidden to his call. His tremendous memory seems to have stored up all the great productions of all the great writers, so that he is never at fault

for a classical allusion to fit any subject. Some of these classical quotations are turned to strange uses. Vergil is quoted with reference to that doctrine which forms the groundwork of Christianity, viz. the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Horace is quoted as an authority on the more general subject of justice. In one of the closing chapters of his book Terence is cited, and a Vergilian quotation appears in the very last sentence of the work. Sometimes he quotes a sacred and a profane source together, as on one occasion when he adds a remark from Cicero to an admonition of one of the prophets (Div. Inst. V, 11, 1, ff). These classical reminiscences appear in passages distinguished by the utmost Christian zeal. Verses of Vergil are applied to the persecutors, Horace's picture of the just man is applied to the martyrs, Terence's phrase veritas odium parit is adduced to explain the hostility of the pagans to Christianity.

As might reasonably be expected, Lactantius is more familiar with Latin than with Greek authors. From the nature of his work it was inevitable that he should have frequent recourse to the books of the Greek philosophers, but he prefers the Latin versions. The only Greek philosophers with whom he seems to have had a familiar acquaintance are Epicurus and Plato. The other Greek authors appear far less frequently; some of the material quoted from them may have been derived from other sources. The Greek poets are represented by a half-dozen quotations, no more. The number seems even smaller when compared with the magnificent scope

of his Latin quotations.

The Latin authors employed by Lactantius are very many in number, and include men from all departments of the literature. Pichon (op. cit. p. 227 ff.) has enumerated the authors who provided Lactantius with information on various subjects. The list includes Naevius, Verrius Flaccus, Gellius, Valerius Maximus, and such lesser luminaries as Fescennius Festus and Sennius Capito. An inexhaustible source was Varro, who furnished information on philosophy, natural history, and mythology. Lactantius recognized the erudition of Varro when he said (Div. Inst. I, 6, 7), that not even among the Greeks had there ever been a more learned man than he. Seneca, who was apparently held in high esteem by Lactantius, appears very frequently in the course of the work. Among the prose writers Lactantius' greatest debt is to Cicero, who provided the Christian apologist not only with quotations but with philosophical and ethical ideas.

The true extent and discrimination of his taste are well exhibited in the quotations from the poets which sprinkle his pages. The prose authors served to furnish him with facts; the poets do this too, but they add an element of decorative grace and charm which proves Lactantius to have been an ardent admirer of poetry for its own sake. The poets quoted comprise the whole range of Latin poetry--Ennius, Lucilius, Terence and Plautus, Lucretius, Horace and Ovid, and last and greatest, Vergil. His quotations from Vergil are

1

remarkable not only for their extent but for their variety. From Ennius he had derived useful information on religious history, from Lucretius he had taken many lofty philosophical ideas, but he was too much imbued with the classical spirit not to yield first place to Vergil. Since Vergil's work first appeared, the use which any author makes of it is a trustworthy index of that author's classicism; hence it is that a faithful heir of the classical tradition like Lactantius is powerfully influenced by Vergil.

And yet he is not so strongly swayed by Vergil as to yield to him invariable approval. Sometimes he quotes him--as he also does Lucretius--to combat him, when the poet has uttered sentiments which are too much at variance with true Christianity. It is in this spirit of rebuke that Lactantius quotes the oath by the Styx, (Div. Inst. I, 11, 12; cf. Aen. XII, 816); the passage wherein is described how the benefactors of the human race, the masters of the healing art, had been slain by Jove's thunderbolt, (Div. Inst. I, 9, 3; Cf. Aen. VII, 772); the verses on the statues of Priapus; and the lines which tell of the spontaneous generation of the first men, (Div. Inst. II, 10, 16; cf. Georg. II, 340). The most striking passage of this kind is the one where Aeneas, taken as the type of pagan virtue, is brought to book. All the heartless cruelties of this paragon of virtue and duty, this model of pagan manhood and filial piety, are detailed and subjected to stern reproof, (Div. Inst. V, 10, 3, ff.). And

yet, even here, we must recognize that it is really rendering homage to Vergil to select one of his characters as a typical example; it is a good indication of the importance which Vergil had for Lactantius.

In many instances Lactantius takes from Vergil facts, or supposed facts, which serve him in the preparation of his expositions of various subjects. Thus in his attempt to resolve all mythology to a Euhemeristic basis he adduces from the Aeneid information on Juno and Saturn; the apotheosis of Anchises and the Acestes cult in Sicily are to him examples of what primitive religion might have been. In his attempt to make clear the doctrine of the Incarnation by quoting other examples of parthenogenesis, he brings in Vergil's description of the mares rendered pregnant by the wind, (Div. Inst. IV, 12, 2; cf. Georg. III, 274, ff.). In his exposition of the difference between men and animals he refers to Vergil's verses on bees and on horses; and when he wishes to indicate the importance of Providence even in small things he adduces what Vergil says on the instinct of insects.

Quite frequent, too, are the instances when Lactantius shows himself to be in full agreement with Vergil. He praises his for having so accurate a perception of the unity and omnipotence of God, that spirit which directs all the immense mass of the universe, and manifests its existence everywhere. It is from Vergil that he borrows his description of the two

paths which lead to the world below, (Div. Inst. VI, 3, 6; VI, 4, 1; cf. Aen. VI, 540, ff.); and the purifications to which the souls are subjected after death. He is at one with Vergil in his regrets for the disappearance of the ideal charm of the golden age; in short he is in complete and enthusiastic accord with him where the poet is swayed by feelings and emotions which seem to show the possession of a Christian spirit.

Beside the direct quotations mentioned above there are ^dhundreds of words, phrases, and metaphors which are taken from the Vergilian poems and incorporated into his discourse; mens sibi conscia recti; iterumque iterumque monebo; vocem his auribus hausit; non canimus surdis; fida silentia sacris; dum spiritus hos regit artus, and many others. Some of these Vergilian phrases are put to strange uses, as when they are employed to express ideas which are new and quite definitely related to theology. Thus, he calls Satan caput horum et causa malorum, and the millennial prophecies vatum praedicta piorum. He describes the passage of the Red Sea in phrases taken from the description of the journey of Aristaeus, curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda, and represents Christ walking on the water as Vergil has the giant Orion, umero supereminet undas. A phrase from Georgics III, 491, descriptive of the priests baffled by the plague-stricken victim is applied to the pagan priests interrupted in their sacrifices by the presence of the Christians: nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates. Again Vergilian terms, such as lupi ceu rap-

tores and funditur ater ubique cruor, are referred to the persecutions of the Christians. The frequent appearance of these Vergilianisms proves how powerfully Lactantius was influenced by pagan culture, and how far he attempted, albeit unconsciously, to effect a compromise between the new thought and the old.

It is interesting to observe how Lactantius refers to Vergil in these quotations. Frequently he mentions him by name, calling him sometimes "Vergilius", sometimes "Maro". This again is varied by the affectionate noster. Sometimes the quotation is accompanied by the words ut ait poeta or poeta noster, or even the more general form of reference, poeta. On two occasions he accompanies the quotation with the information that is is from the pen of a summus poeta. Once he allows his personal judgment of the poet to come to the front where he takes issue with Vergil on the subject of the statues of Priapus, and says: "poeta maximus, homo in ceteris prudens, in hoc solo non poetice, sed aniliter desipit." More frequent, however, are the instances where the poet's name is not mentioned, but the quotation is introduced with no indication as to the source. This last fact indicates that Vergil was already so well known that quotations from his works could at once be recognized as such.

As has already been indicated, the traces of Vergil in Lactantius are far more numerous than in any other ecclesiastical author thus far considered. We must bear in mind that before his conversion Lactantius had been a professor of rhetoric, and the classical authors had been his stock in trade. His wide reading had brought him ^{an extensive} [a tremendous] and accurate

knowledge of all that was best in the pagan writers, and had filled him with an enduring love of literature for its own sake. In Lactantius one finds no hint of the violent prejudice which inflamed the minds of some of the ecclesiastical writers. He can rebuke a man for holding a false opinion, as he did Vergil, and still continue to regard him as a poeta maximus. He was sufficiently broad-minded to see that a man might be wrong on a point of doctrine, and still be able to write poetry. Everything is fish that comes to his net; he uses everything in any of the poets which can in any way be pressed into service. Since he looked upon Vergil as the poet par excellence, he was satisfied with considering Vergil's opinions on most subjects as final and authoritative; he can accept his expression of an idea in preference to that of other men, because his manner of phrasing the idea was unequalled. To Lactantius the Christian, Vergil meant the same as to Lactantius the pagan, that is, he was a great literary genius, the greatest that Rome had produced, the typical representative of the classical tradition. But unlike some of the more rhetorical Christians, Lactantius did not look upon Vergil merely as a store-house of mythological details, striking phrases, and interesting bits of syntax; on the contrary, whenever he discovered in the works of the great poet any expression which might be borrowed to strengthen an argument or lend weight to a doctrine, he took it; but his literary judgment was so sound, his eye for effect was so good, that the borrowings cannot be scorned

as crambe repetita. Lactantius offers a good example of the conscious attempt on the part of some of the more erudite Christians to adjust in some way the words of the poet whom they worshipped to the new religion which demanded a worship of a different kind. How skilfully and with what rare taste and discrimination he did this, I think has been demonstrated.

We have seen that in Lactantius Vergil plays a large rôle as a literary character and as an authority on all sorts of questions, especially ethical and philosophical, but he also appears in another and no less important guise, that of the prophet of Christ. The tradition of Vergil as a Messianic prophet, as a "Christian without Christ" had become firmly established in the fourth century, and it is not surprising to find allusions to this in Lactantius. This phase of Vergil's activity afterward came to be considered the chief one. Many of the ecclesiastical writers had been in the habit of quoting bits of Vergil in which they thought to recognize some of the principles of Christianity, but this was not confined to Vergil; we have seen that Lactantius finds Christian analogues in Horace and others. But by virtue of his Fourth Eclogue, in which the Christians found a prophecy of the Christ, Vergil was raised to the rank of a major prophet, and this legend of prophecy has been constantly associated with his name down to very modern times. The complicated history of the Fourth Eclogue and its supposed Messianic prophecy can-

1

not be dealt with here, it will be sufficient to observe that the belief in that Eclogue as prophetic of the coming of Christ was so firmly fixed in the Christians that they even resorted to such questionable practices as changing the text in order to clear up some doubtful points. It is true that Lactantius did not look upon the Fourth Eclogue in quite the same light as some of the other patristic writers; he was an adherent of the doctrine of the millennium, hence he applied the supposed prophecy not to the first, but to the second coming of Christ, (Cf. Div. Inst. VII, 24). The significant fact remains, however, that learned and cultivated though he might be, he looked upon Vergil as an authority of such preponderating weight that his words had to be quoted on the score of the second coming of the Saviour. Even more significant is the fact that the other testimony adduced on this question is drawn from secular and not from sacred sources, that is to say, from the Sibylline oracles.

The Vergilian tradition is clearer, more definite, and more easily traced in Lactantius than in any other ecclesiastical writer heretofore discussed. We have seen Minucius Felix quote Vergil once, we have seen in such men as Cyprian and Arnobius abundant traces of a knowledge of Vergil but no direct quotations. In Lactantius an entirely different condition obtains. As has been pointed out elsewhere, his language

1

See Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, "Vergil's Messianic Eclogue", (London 1907); Ella Bourne, The Messianic Prophecy in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, Class. Journ. Vol. XI, p. 390, ff.

shows Vergilian reminiscences, as does that of nearly every other ecclesiastical writer. But this is the smallest part of his debt to Vergil. His range of Vergilian quotation is tremendous. Vergil is cited as an authority on general questions of philosophy and ethics, he is quoted to support specific tenets of the Christian faith, he is revered as the prophet of the Messiah. Lactantius makes as wide a use of Vergil as was possible at the time. He does not mention Vergil as a magician, but all the other phases of activity of the many-sided poet are brought out. Sometimes he is interested in Vergil because of mythology, sometimes because of his moral ideas, sometimes because of his purity of form..As René Pichon has put it, "Philosophic interest and classic beauty are what directed his literary preferences, and that is enough to create for him a true originality among the learned men of the period."

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS

In the De Errore Profanarum Religionum of Julius Firmicus Maternus, that part of Christian Latinity which can be considered strictly apologetic writing has reached its culmination. The first of the apologists had inaugurated the defence of Christianity by employing in behalf of it arguments which were in their nature strictly legal. Tertullian had poured forth the floods of ^{his} African rhetoric against everything that seemed to threaten the existence of the church; but like Minucius, his procedure is that of the law-court rather than that of the pulpit. In the hands of ST. Cyprian, St.

who was a man of quite different mental calibre than either of his predecessors, the defense of Christianity is more or less bound up with the theory of church polity. The chief thing which interested Cyprian was the unity of the church. For Minucius the church represented a sort of philosophical system rather than a real religion; for Tertullian the church was rather a small and exclusive society to the membership in which few indeed were chosen. For Cyprian, on the other hand, the church is a vast organic whole, and toward the further unifying of this organization he devoted his boundless energy and his tireless enthusiasm. As a natural consequence of this point of view his method and style of apology for Christianity is very noticeably affected. Not so, however, Arnobius. He, and his celebrated pupil Lactantius, avoiding the broad principles of the theory of religion as well as the more specific points of faith and creed, concerned themselves with combating the pagan philosophers and their teachings. Up to this time warfare had been largely defensive on the part of the Christians. But now Christianity may be said to have established itself so strongly that it could launch a significant attack. It remained for Firmicus Maternus, secure in the belief that Christianity had already demonstrated its superiority, to take the real offensive, to urge his fellow Christians to set their hands to the task of destroying utterly the now more or less moribund pagan religions; and to this end he advocated stoutly all the violent methods which had in earlier times been employed against the ever spreading reli-

gion of the Christians. From this point of view, Firmicus Maternus is the last of the apologists. It is no longer necessary to defend Christianity; it is for the Christians to raise the banner of faith--erigite vexillum fidei is his cry--and proceed to the delectable task of making of their enemies a footstool. The Galilean had conquered; despite hysterical efforts to subvert it, Christianity was to remain the most far-reaching and influential ethical system in the world's history. The formative period of Christian Latinity represented by the apologists had passed; Christian literature as a department was now ready for the great development which was to come from the moralists of the reign of Theodosius.

This last of the Christian apologetic writings is a very puzzling performance. The subscriptio of the work reads: lulii Firmici Materni v. c. De Errore Profanarum Religionum. Here at once enters the first element of doubt. Is this Firmicus Maternus to be identified with the one who some years before had written a system of astrology called Matheseos Libri VIII? Much ink has been shed over this subject, but no definite conclusion has been reached. Certain similarities of diction, certain peculiarities of phrase common to the two works have led some scholars to suppose that the two men are identical, that the astrological work was written early in life, and that the apology for the Christian religion was composed by the same man later in life after he had been converted to Christianity. It is not proposed, however, to enter

into a discussion of this tempting subject here. Suffice it to say that of the author we know nothing; certain internal evidence points to the fact that the book was composed somewhere between 345 and 350.

Not all of the book has been preserved; the work contains gaps which no emendations or suggestions have sufficed to restore. The large portion of it which remains is, however, sufficient clearly to indicate its purpose. The De Errore is a violent attack upon paganism and upon all those who seek to uphold it. The author devotes special attention to the oriental forms of worship, particularly to the religion of Mithra, which was, as a matter of fact, an insidious enemy of Christianity at that time.

Firmicus will not admit that the heathen cults have in them anything of good, he points out that all the crimes of mankind, even the most awful, are merely the result of following the example of the gods, who revelled in all the most depraved forms of vice. The conclusion then naturally and inevitably follows that since paganism is responsible for all these vices and crimes, therefore paganism must be stamped out, and in the process of stamping out, all means, even the most extreme, are to be employed. For Firmicus there is no possibility of compromise; if the heathen will not see the error of their ways, then the gospel must be preached to them with the sword.

As might reasonably be expected of an extremist like Fir-

micus, the excitability of the author is reflected in his work. The style is turgid, tumultuous, violently rhetorical. The work bristles with exclamations, apostrophes, and rhetorical questions. Extravagances of form and figure are common. In one place the sun appears and complains that men had mad, a god of him instead of leaving him as the Creator had fashioned him. The language shows frequent traces of the sermo plebeius which indicate on the part of Firmicus an utter neglect of the niceties of Latin style.

And yet, in spite of these evidences of carelessness, Firmicus was by no means utterly devoid of training and culture. A striking thing about him is the fact that unlike many of his fellow apologists, he knew Greek, at least enough to quote. He shows a rather wide familiarity with the Bible, more especially with the Old Testament. The only classical author of importance whom he cites directly is Homer; and he is cited only once. Firmicus' work shows that he had read Cicero, especially the De Natura Deorum, Quintilian, Vergil, and perhaps Ovid. The significance of this list of authors should be noted at once. They are just such as would be read in the schools of rhetoric; they furnish types of school-books. The style of Firmicus shows that he had been trained as a rhetorician, his language savors strongly of the professional declamator. He does not appeal to the imagination, there is nothing subtle about him, his effects are broad and sweeping, and are gained by the sheer torrential violence of his language.

Firmicus seems to have had no prejudice against the clas-

sic authors; he does not denounce them in good set terms as others of the ecclesiastical writers had done. His reading seems to have been limited, but he acquired a fairly good knowledge of those authors whom he favored with his attention. The theory that the De Errore was composed by a man who was steeped in the formal learning, or rather pedantry of the schools, is borne out by the conscious metrical structure of the ¹clausulae. This adds to one's impression that the work is labored rather than spontaneous.

The traces of Vergil are not so many as in certain others of the ecclesiastical writers, and yet there are evidences of undoubted Vergilian reminiscence. Some of these amount really to quotations without the formality of quotation marks. Compare, for example, III, 1, (p. 8, line 3, Z.), Tunc quod irata mulier pro iniuria spretae fecerat formae, with Vergil, Aen. I, 27, iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae. Again in VI, 7, (p. 17, line 26 Z), the phrase cum semiviro comitatu is lifted bodily from Aeneid IV, 215. Firmicus' knowledge of Vergil is not, however, confined to the Aeneid. There are other haunting echoes from the Eclogues and Georgics which seem to show that he had a good general knowledge of Vergil.

As concerns the Vergilian tradition in Firmicus Mater-nus, the points to be stressed are these. The conventional nature of his learning, the language and style of his work, and the structure of his argumentation show very clearly that

he was a product of the rhetorical schools. The Vergilian echoes show that he was quite familiar with the works of Vergil. The conclusion is thus inevitable that at this time, (c. 350 A. D.), Vergil was still a text-book in the schools of rhetoric. Firmicus never mentions Vergil's name, he affords no instance of conscious quotation from Vergil; hence it is impossible to determine what he thought of the great pagan poet. He does not appeal to the omnipotence and omniscience of Vergil, he does not use Vergil's words to buttress up his Christian doctrine. It may be doubted whether he thought of Vergil as a Messianic prophet, since a man with his tastes would hardly have disdained such tempting material. He could hardly have thought of Vergil as a magician, because this part of the tradition was a later development. The one thing which we can postulate with some certainty is that in the age in which Firmicus wrote, Vergil's works were used as a store-house of information from which the rhetoricians and their pupils could draw ad libitum--in a word, to Firmicus, Vergil was a literary character and nothing more.

COMMODIANUS

Thus far, the Christian writings which we have considered have been entirely in the field of prose. In Commodianus we have for the first time a writer who presents his teachings and arguments in poetry, or at least in verse. This Commodianus is a strange figure of whom we know but little. His contemporaries and successors either knew nothing of him, or

did not consider him worth mentioning, hence for a knowledge of the life of this pioneer Christian poet, we must turn to his own works. These tell us little. There is a theory--not very well substantiated, it is true--that he was a native of Gaza. Another theory has it that he came from Africa. His date is no more certain than his birthplace, his floruit is assigned to about 250 A. D.

There are extant from the pen of Commodianus two poems whose peculiarities set them off from all others in the whole range of Latin literature. The earlier of these poems is called Instructiones, and consists of 80 short poems ranging from 6 to 50 lines in length. These poems are written in a sort of hybrid hexameter, and are further complicated by being thrown into acrostic form. The second poem, the Carmen Apologeticum, does not labor under this handicap; hence it gives an impression of greater naturalness and sincerity. Neither of them, however, can be classed as brilliant creations of the poetic fancy.

The reason for the somewhat peculiar quality of these poems becomes, in large measure, more apparent, when we consider the nature and character of the man who wrote them. Commodianus was an enthusiast, a fanatic, to whom religion appealed from its terrible side alone. He was no mystic, no gentle stained-glass saint; he was a true member of the church-militant. To him there is nothing in religion that is beautiful, and far too little that is even kindly. Religion to him was a stern duty, not an agreeable social function. He

had been a pagan himself, he brings to his attacks on paganism all the exaggerated fury of the recent convert. The sae-va indignatio which rages through his works gives the impression of a mind somewhat clouded by misfortune and persecution. Not content with venting upon the pagans a spite which sometimes borders on mere vituperation, he even waxes violent against the display of ordinary human feelings and sentiments, as when he forbids parents to weep for the death of their children. He is by no means tolerant of luke-warm Christians; he seems to think that all who profess the faith should manifest his own peculiar brand of professional religiosity. His insistence on hell-fire and damnation is continual, his description in the De Saeculi Istius Fine of the end of this world, with the rocks melting in the terrific heat, the winds smiting like thunderbolts, the raging of the divine wrath, is very evidently done con amore.

As well may be imagined, the poems written by such a man are by no means tender and graceful. Quite the reverse. In their metrical structure they violate every known law of poetic composition. The poems are composed in hexameters which are based on a sort of accentual system. Assonance is used freely, a fine scorn is displayed for rules of quantity, elision is conspicuous by its absence. Furthermore this metrical nihilism is aggravated by a great carelessness in the use of language, such as putting second declension endings on third declension nouns. Added to all this, the Instructiones is written in acrostic style. The effect of this combination

can well be imagined. There is no doubt that these novel-
ties are deliberate on the part of Commodianus. René Pichon
has suggested that they are due to the fact **that** the poems
are directed at the people, not at the upper class. He wrote
in verse because verse can more easily be remembered. "He
put his Christian doctrine in acrostics as we put geography
in quatrains; it is a mnemonic procedure."

But lest the impression be gained from the above that
Commodianus was utterly without training, let me hasten to
add that he shows undoubted evidences of the possession of
polite learning. His education seems to have been that of
the upper classes, which means that it was good. His work
shows traces of the influence of the classic poets--Horace,
Lucretius, and particularly Vergil.¹ Dombart says (praef.
p. VII) that Commodianus also knew Cicero, Ovid, and Tibul-
lus, and that there are passages which show the influence of
Cyprian, of Tertullian, and of Minucius Felix. There are al-
so very many passages which prove him to have been a good
student of the Bible. The echoes from Vergil are, however,
the most numerous.

Commodianus, despite all this, seemed to think that in
order to destroy the pagans, it was necessary to destroy ev-
erything concerned with them, including their literature. In
Pichon's phrase: "Not content with denying the gods, he takes

¹

Cf. Dombart, pref. to his edition, p. V; Manitius, *Gesch. d.*
Christ.-Lat. Poesie, p. 41; *Rhein. Mus.* 45, 317.

pleasure in crushing in his brutal hands the tender flowers of mythologic imagination....The most delicate legends are reduced to a coarse parody." To Commodianus the poets are rascals and dolts--scelerati vates inanes he calls them. The only time he mentions Vergil's name is to deliver himself of a preachment against him and all the tribe of poets. In the Carmen Apologeticum, I, 583, he says:

"Vergilius legitur, Cicero aut Terentius item,
Nil nisi cor faciunt, ceterum de vita siletur."

There are difficulties here with both text and interpretation, but it is evident that the pagan authors are being censured because they only improve the mind without leading the soul to higher things. It should be observed that in mentioning the types of pagan authors, Vergil is given first place. His dominating position as a poet had caused him to be looked upon as the type and embodiment of pagan literature. It should be noticed too that at this time Vergil was still essentially a literary figure; it is yet too early to find him playing the worker of wonders.

It might be thought inconsiderate, not to say inconsistent, in Commodianus to say unkind things about the poet whose works he had read and used, but we must remember that the Fathers' judgment of the pagan authors, and more particularly of Vergil, is much colored by circumstances. When inspired by Christian zeal and holy fervor they often condemn the heathen writers--whose works, by the way, had been of immense value to them--but at other times their natural literary taste asserted itself, and the Fathers are sometimes moved to take

a more charitable view of them. They seem often to have hated the heathen writers collectively, but to have loved them individually. At any rate, and the point is important, they read them and profited by them. As Comparetti says (p. 83), "If anyone were to collect from the ecclesiastical writers all the passages in which they inveigh against the reading of pagan authors, and the pursuit of profane studies generally, the collection would be a considerable one; but far greater would be a collection of the passages which prove that none the less these same writers occupied themselves with studies of this very kind. There were Christian poets and prose writers, but every one of them with the least claim to literary merit owes that merit entirely to the ancients of whom he is the disciple¹ and often the servile imitator." So it is with Commodianus. His work shows him to have been a close student of Vergil, the Vergilian phrase is continually in his mouth; yet in his sweeping condemnation of the pagans, Vergil is used as a type of that pagan literature which must be destroyed. Vergil's "chosen coin of fancy" had become legal tender with the ecclesiastical writers, and yet to a man like Commodianus even he is one of the scelerati vates inanes.

GAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS IOVENCUS

After the time of the pioneer Christian poet Commodianus a century elapsed during which there were no poetical ventures in the field of Christian Latinity. This century was particu-

¹ Cf. Schwieger, *Der Zauberer Virgil*, p. 45 ff.

larly fruitful in changes which were calculated to react upon any literature, especially of a poetical nature, that might follow. Perhaps the most important of these changes was the victory of Christianity, which had spread to the upper classes, to people of culture and training, so that the methods which had been useful in preaching to the lower classes among whom it had started were no longer valuable. In spite of this victory, however, the national spirit remained for long unchanged, the basis of culture was still the reading of the classical authors; the classical models were the only ones worth following, there was nothing else. The result so far as Christian poetry was concerned, was a return to the classics. So long as Christianity was confined to the uneducated, carelessness in form and content was tolerable; but when it spread so as to include the educated and cultured--and there were many such--some attempt had to be made to approximate the literary quality of the authors who had for generations constituted the mental pabulum of the educated. An uneducated man would not notice the ruggedness, the lack of polish of a writer like Commodianus, but to a man with a background of culture such things would be repellent. Consequently, it was in the nature of things that an attempt should be made to replace the national pagan literature by a Christian literature of equal merit both stylistically and otherwise.

The change in times and circumstances was also reflected in the subject matter of the Christian writings. During the period of the apologists, while Christianity was undergoing

the storm and stress of a violent persecution, it was natural that the ecclesiastical writers should exhibit a severe and uncompromising attitude toward anything that savored of paganism. But when Christianity became so firmly established as to be secure from persecution, the necessity for this was no longer felt, and a milder tone manifested itself. The church could abandon its militant attitude, and the church writers could devote themselves to expounding the gospel and to imparting real instruction in their religion, taking care meanwhile to transfuse into their writings as much as they could of the life-blood of the classics.

The resultant of these tendencies is found in the second great Christian poet, a Spanish presbyter of the fourth century who rejoiced in the resounding name of Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Iuvencus. He produced about the year 330 a poem called Evangeliorum Libri IV, or Historia Evangelica, as it later came to be called. This is the gospel narrative put into four books of hexameters. Iuvencus was the first to attempt to substitute for the national epos a poem on Christian subjects. His conviction was that if the national poets of Greece and Rome had won such great fame by singing of the deeds of mythical heroes, surely he, who had set himself to celebrate the deeds of Christ, the great hero, should win a fame that would eclipse that of the others, and be absolutely imperishable.

From one point of view he was well equipped for this bold undertaking. He had received a magnificent training in the

ancient classics, he was an omnivorous reader and a diligent student, and his wonderful memory seems to have held in solution all that was best in the entire field of Latin literature. To this was added abundant patience, supported by an abiding faith and no little self-confidence. But he lacked the one quality essential for a really great poet, namely that intangible, impalpable quality of true poetic genius. His long pondering of Vergil had taught him the mechanics of versification, and he could borrow phrases; but a study of his easily flowing, rather colorless hexameters justifies the frigid epithet "respectable" applied to them by Professor Mackail.

It was inevitable, if Iuvencus were to write hexameters, that he should model them after one man, and one only--Vergil, the master poet, who was regarded as the standard and norm of this type of composition. An examination of his poem shows the really enormous debt which he owed to Vergil. For example, in the first book of the Evangelia, which contains 770 lines, Huemer has noted 52 Vergilian parallels, as well as two passages from the Appendix Vergiliana. Huemer's 'testimonia' indicate further that Iuvencus had a wide knowledge of the entire range of pagan classics--Ovid, Lucan, Statius were among his familiars--but the Vergilian reminiscence, the Vergilian turn of phrase, the Vergilian method of handling the line, occur and recur with an ease which shows that he must have known Vergil by heart.¹ The majority of his Vergilian echoes come

1

Cf. E. Vivona, *De Iuveni Poetae Amplificationibus*, p. 4; J. T. Hatfield, *A Study of Juvenius* (J. H. U. Diss, 1890), p. 40, ff.

from the Aeneid, as is natural, since Iuvencus intended his poem to be epic in character, but the Georgics, too, are well represented. He had no scruples about building on another man's foundation. In René Pichon's mordant phrase, "He dressed Christ in the garments of Aeneas."

In a poem of the type of that of Iuvencus, one might scarcely expect to find direct references to Vergil, but one is found, nevertheless. He introduces his poem in a short praefatio in which he outlines his aims.. He declares that as other poets had gained glory by praising the heroes of mythology, so he will obtain everlasting fame by reciting the glories of Christ. The two epic poets whom he mentions as types are Homer for the Greeks and Vergil for the Romans. There was no possibility of a different choice. Homer was the one great epic poet of Hellas, and in spite of numerous attempts at epic made n/ at Rome, Vergil is the great figure in the department of Latin epic. It is characteristic of Iuvencus and of his time that he refers to Vergil by the artificial term "Minciad Maro."

The Vergilian tradition in Iuvencus is quite clearly defined and easy to trace. Vergil appealed to him from only one point of view, namely that of a purely literary figure. He had set himself to create a Christian epic which should supplant the efforts of the pagans in that department; hence he regarded Vergil as the master who had created a style of form and content which he was obliged to copy. There had been other epic poets in Rome, but Vergil was first with no second. There was no other poet in the whole range of Latin litera-

ture who was sufficiently great to serve as the model for the would-be creator of the new Christian epic, and it is in this light that Iuvenius regarded him.

VICTORINUS

The prevailing tendency in the treatment of biblical themes by Christian poets was to handle the biblical material with the utmost freedom. A striking instance of this is the Car-
men de fratribus septem Macchabeis interfectis ab Antiocho Epi-
phane, usually ascribed to one Victorinus. The story of this poem is taken from Maccabees 2, 7, but the author has adapted it liberally in order to make it serve, as it were, as a story of Christian martyrdom. The poem is assigned to the fourth century.

The poem has all the symptoms of having been composed by a rhetorician. The language is pure enough, the prosody is sufficiently correct, but the reader is conscious of that lack of dramatic interest, that repetition and insistence upon certain pet phrases which lend such an air of monotony to the compositions of the rhetorical schools.

The work was composed after good models. Vergil is frequently employed, there are echoes of Horace, reminiscences of Ovid. Vergil is used merely as a source for phrases, his language is borrowed rather extensively, but there is no attempt to absorb any of his ideas. The author has attempted to set forth the story of the seven Maccabees in epic fashion, and has, accordingly, modelled his hexameters on those of Ver-

gil, the great authority. In presenting a scriptural story there would be less opportunity to borrow ideas from Vergil; however that may be, Victorinus confines himself to adapting Vergil's words, and makes no attempt to invoke his authority on any one of the thousand and one questions on which the Christian Fathers were wont to seek his advice.

PROBA

As we have seen, Vergil's works early found their way as text-books into the schools, and thus the reputation of the poet became so firmly established that it was able to endure under the most adverse circumstances. "His chief office", says Comparetti, (p. 53), "was now to teach children in the schools, and so give them the means of emphasizing their childishness when they grew up." So intensive was this study, that many persons had got by heart the whole of the Vergilian corpus. This mechanical familiarity with Vergil's lines, aided and abetted by the lack of originality characteristic of the period, naturally prompted the rhetoricians to the manufacture of Vergilian centos. Another circumstance which had fostered this variety of rhetorical exercise was that Homeric centos had also been popular. Now the Latin nation was anxious to demonstrate their poet to be the equal of any epic poet who ever came out of Hellas, so that Vergilian centos had to be made by way of further reverencing the memory of the great epic poet of Rome. Artificial and altogether puerile as such an exercise would appear today, it was in the days of Christian barbarism a standard form of literary composition which

had great permanence of tradition. Reference has already been made to the tragedy Medea which Hosidius Geta compounded from bits of Vergil, and even a poet of some originality like Ausonius had not disdained to make a Vergilian Cento Nuptialis. The Christians were no less eager ~~than~~ the pagans to divert the language of Vergil to other uses. This is but natural, since in the early days of the church the Christians had made definite and persistent efforts to engraft their new Christianity upon the old stock of paganism. The Christians were very diligent in writing, or rather in assembling, Vergilian centos, partly because it was a mere exercise of the memory which obviated the labor of original composition, partly of a wistful desire to attract others of the pagans into the fold by means of the magic spell of Vergil's lines.

One of the earliest of these Christian centos is that constructed, about the middle of the fourth century, by Proba Faltonia, who pieced together bits of Vergil so as to tell the story of the Scriptures. Of the Old Testament, the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge are narrated in some detail; the story then turns to the birth of Christ, and continues His history to the Ascension. This cento, which is one of the longest in existence, contains nearly seven hundred lines. Proba contrived this mosaic for her children, with the intention of combining the advantages of Vergilian form and Christian content. It very frequently happens, however, that the

meaning is far from clear; as a pedagogic experiment it is not a conspicuous success, since it is often so far from elucidating the Bible story, that it is impossible to understand the cento unless the reader already knows what the Bible statement is. The verses which comprise this cento are taken from every one of Vergil's works, but the largest number comes from the Aeneid. The arrangement of the verses and hemistichs is often unskilful; considerable violence is done to the form and the sense in forcing the poetic phrases into settings where they do not fit. The only distinction that Proba can claim for this work is the doubtful one of having fabricated the first Christian cento. The fashion continued among the Christians; we shall have occasion later to notice its appearance among the African writers.

DAMASUS

Such distinction as Damasus enjoys accrues to him because of his exalted position in the church rather than because of and remarkable literary talent which he possessed. Damasus was the first of the ecclesiastical writers to be elevated to the papacy (366), and he is significant as pontiff rather than as poet. His contributions to literature are in verse, cast in the form of epigrams. Many of them are epitaphs, dedicated to various saints and martyrs of the church. In addition to these epigrams, Damasus also produced a number of hymns in praise of some of the great figures in religious history.

It needs but a cursory inspection of these verses to convince us that Damasus was indeed far from being an imposing

figure in the history of poetry. His verses fail to move the reader; in the whole extent of his work there is no trace of that "one drop of ruddy human blood" which Lowell said was so necessary to put life into the veins of a poem. Damasus is essentially an imitator; consequently when he relies upon the promptings of his own genius, his work lacks savor.¹

But whatever his deficiencies as a poet, Damasus gives evidence of the possession of no small amount of scholarship. Indeed, the very lack of originality which we deplore in him, caused him to lean heavily on previous writers. He was content to walk in the path defined by his predecessors. His learning seems to have been that which had become traditional in the schools; hence the writers whom Damasus uses are those who were the favorites in the schools of rhetoric. Chief among these was, of course, Vergil. Vergil's work had suffered the dreadful fate of becoming a class-room text-book; the lines of the poet had become exempla in the mouths of the professional declamatores.

Hence it is that Vergil appears so frequently in the works of Damasus. There are no direct quotations of Vergil, no citations of the poet with his name attached, but continually there appear incorporated into his poems stray bits of Vergilian language. Sometimes merely a word or two will give the hint, sometimes a whole verse will be adapted with some slight change as in No. 3 (p. 7, Ihm), where the first line of the

poem runs:

"Tityre tu fido recubans sub tegmine Christi."

Damasus seems not to have confined his attention to any one work of Vergil; on the contrary a canvassing of the evidence shows that he was on familiar terms with the whole of the Vergilian corpus. As might perhaps be guessed, the Aeneid is imitated more often than any other single work, but there are also echoes from the Bucolics which indicate that Damasus had some sort of familiarity with them. The other evidences of learning in Damasus are exactly the sort one might expect to find in a Christian trained in the rhetorical schools, tags from Ovid, bits of Silius, fragments from Iuvencus.

The Vergilian tradition in Damasus is limited to a single phase. Damasus apparently thought of Vergil exclusively as a literary figure. He had no occasion to refer to him in any other capacity--he never refers directly to him anyway--but the many Vergilian phrases which appear in his works show that to Damasus, Vergil was merely a (literary figure), to be esteemed and followed as such.

AMBROSIUS

Ambrosius (c. 340--397), the celebrated bishop of Milan, is one of the really great (figures) in the history of the church. He was born near Trèves of a prominent family of pure Roman stock. Scion of a noble house, he was carefully nurtured on the works of the writers dear to the Roman aristocracy, and every opportunity was given for the development and enrichment of his great natural talents. He entered politics, a

field in which his notable oratorical ability was of advantage to him, and while still a young man, as political age is reckoned, had advanced to positions of great trust and influence.

An unlooked for event turned him from the preferments of political office, and directed him to that field where he was to have such preponderating influence. The bishop of Milan died, and there arose a violent quarrel between the orthodox and the Arians as to the appointment of his successor. Ambrosius entered the church in order to reconcile the warring factions; whereupon both parties turned to him, and offered to present him with the mitre. This gives a clear indication of the power and charm of the man's personality, qualities which he continued to manifest through all his later life.

His activity was amazing. It is positively bewildering to consider that in spite of the manifold duties of his office, he nevertheless found leisure to produce a body of writing which would serve as no inconsiderable monument to the entire life work of any man. But his writings are impressive otherwise than because of their sheer bulk.

Many of his literary works grew out of his activity as a preacher. They are in the nature of homilies, often placed in a definite relation to each other. Their style has a distinctly oratorical flavor. Many of them are expositions of the Old Testament, and are of a purely theological nature. He also composed several ethical treatises, chief among which is the De Officiis Ministrorum, founded on the De Officiis of Cicero, and constituting essentially a transplanting into

Christian soil of the doctrines of Cicero. He was also the author of several speeches, many letters, and last, but not of least importance, a number of hymns which still have a place in the church liturgy.

Ambrosius was a Roman, with generations of Roman culture as a background, hence many of the linguistic difficulties which beset some of the ecclesiastical writers troubled him not at all. Because of the purity of his diction and the clarity of his style, he is known as the "Christian Cicero", a brevet rank which up to this time had been enjoyed only by Lactantius.

The reason for the stylistic purity of Ambrosius' work is not far to seek. He came of a patrician family, and his education was that of the patricians, which is tantamount to saying that it was good. An education of this kind included a thorough training in those of the Latin classics which were commonly chosen as models because of the purity of their style and the broad sweep of their ideas. Among the Latin writers the three whom he most followed are Sallust, Cicero, and Vergil. Others who are used by him are Plautus, Terence, Lucan, livy, and Tacitus. It must not be supposed that because of his wide acquaintance with the classics Ambrosius built his doctrine entirely upon them to the exclusion of sacred sources. Quite the contrary. His knowledge of Scripture was even more profound than his knowledge of the classics, and it is Scrip-

ture which furnishes him with the most cogent arguments and
the most graphic illustrations.¹

The classics had, however, a most enduring and far-reaching effect on Ambrosius. His works show that he had all of the classics of Rome--and some of those of Greece--at his finger tips; he was steeped in classical lore to a remarkable extent. Sallust he uses again and again, Cicero he used as a foundation for one whole work, and the purity of style of his other works bespeaks a careful and conscious imitation of Cicero; but the influence of Vergil is greater than that of any other pagan writer. But here we are met first of all with what may seem a strange condition. In all the vast bulk of Ambrosius' work the name of Vergil is never once mentioned. In only a very few instances are verses of Vergil rendered entire; most often Vergil phrases are used without reference to their metrical structure. As to the omission of Vergil's name, we need not be disturbed about that, because in only a very few instances does Ambrosius mention the author from whom he quotes.

The relation of Ambrosius to Vergil, then, resolves itself down to this. Ambrosius knew Vergil practically by heart; knew him so well that the phrases of the master poet had become ingrained in his consciousness. As a result of this ready familiarity, Vergilian phrases suggest themselves auto-

¹

Cf. M. Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana*, in *Fleckeisens Jahrb. Supplb.*, 17, p. 81.

atically to him; they are so much a part of his thought that they come unbidden at his call. All the works of Vergil are known to him. He borrows a large number of phrases from the Eclogues, a larger number from the Georgics, while the phrases taken from the Aeneid are really tremendous in number. Vergil's words were so familiar to him that he slips into Vergilian diction without feeling any need of the formality of quotation marks. The very fact that most of these pieces of Vergil are three or four word phrases shows how wide a knowledge of the poet Ambrosius had. He does not content himself with the mighty reverberating lines known to every school-boy; on the contrary there are audible to the attentive ear many fainter Vergilian echoes which show that he was familiar with the innermost soul of the poems of the bard of nations.

The influence of Vergil upon Ambrosius is of a purely literary nature. He uses Vergil only as a man of education might use him, that is, as a mine for phrases and ideas. The only authority which Vergil had for him was a strictly literary authority. We find in him no trace of Vergil the wizard; there is no reference to him as an authority on questions of ethics and philosophy, and if Ambrosius thought of him as a Messianic prophet, he says nothing about it. Ambrosius makes no attempt at a reconciliation between pagan and Christian elements. He is thoroughly Christian, his use of Vergil is the same as might obtain in a more modern writer; that is, he looked upon Vergil as a great literary figure, as a man who had given to certain sentiments a final and definitive expression.

Noteworthy also is the fact that in Ambrosius we find no whisper of condemnation of the pagan classics. In earlier times some of the church fathers had inveighed against the classical writers because they were deleterious to the faith of a Christian; according to these narrow zealots it was impossible to read the pagan writers without suffering in one's Christianity. Ambrosius on the other hand is a thorough-going Christian, but he is also a broad-minded scholar--the two things are not mutually exclusive--so he utters no reproach against the pagan classics. He employed them to good advantage himself, and is apparently willing that others shall do the same.

HIERONYMUS

Even more important than Ambrosius, as regards both ecclesiastical history and general literature, is Eusebius Hieronymus. This remarkable man was born in Stridon, on the borders of Dalmatia, about 340. His parents were Christians, so that early in life he imbibed the spirit of Christianity both by precept and example. As a young man he went to Rome, where he studied under the celebrated grammarian Donatus. So assiduous was he in cultivating learning that he seems to have become a profound scholar at a very early age. After studying at Rome he betook himself to Trèves, which had at the time one of the most flourishing universities in Europe, and here he devoted himself to the study of theology. He spent some years in Rome as the confidential adviser of Pope Damasus, and after

that Pontiff's death he adopted a most ascetic mode of life, and founded a monastery in Bethlehem, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Hieronymus--or Jerome as he is more usually called--as an author was most prolific and versatile. Perhaps his best known work is his translation of the Bible, a monument of learning and studious application. Beside this magnificent piece of erudition he wrote several commentaries on the Scriptures, some controversial works, a De Viris Illustribus, and a number of letters, more than one hundred of which have been preserved.

As a writer Jerome stands among the first of the Christian Fathers. His style is clear and vivid, not too much tainted by rhetorical exaggeration. Indeed it is so good that in the estimation of some critics, he, rather than Lactantius or Ambrosius, deserves the title of "Christian Cicero." He was a remarkably original writer, his powerful and energetic style served as a model for succeeding generations of patristic authors, and yet that style depends for much of its beauty and effect upon reminiscences of the classics. We must recognize that just as he was the greatest expert in the use of Latin as a tool and the most profound biblical critic yet encountered, so also he was one of the greatest classical scholars among the Christian Fathers. Vast as is the extent of classical culture found in Lactantius and Ambrosius, that which confronts us on every page of Jerome is yet more vast. Vergil and Horace, Sallust and Suetonius, Cicero and Quin-

tilian, Terence, Lucan and Persius, not to mention lesser luminaries such as Valerius Maximus--all these are as familiar to him as the books of the Bible. His acquaintance with Greek authors is by no means so extensive, but one finds traces of Aristotle, Homer, Hesiod, Plutarch and Plato. His own works show that he was a most diligent student of the pagan writers, and his extraordinary memory seems to have retained everything that he ever read. Almost on every page one finds citations from the pagan writers, quotations to establish some point of fact, or simply a phrase from one of the poets woven into the fabric of his discourse. Much of the richness of Jerome comes from these reminiscences of the classics. And yet they are not of the character of slavish imitations; he had Tertullian's power of striking off a trenchant phrase, but he possessed one faculty wanting in Tertullian, namely, a fine appreciation of beauty and a sensitive responsiveness to nuances of style. Hence it is that he loves to enrich his own vigorous language with delicate embroidery from the great classic masters; and like some of the other ecclesiastical writers obtained, by means of his knowledge of what other men had written, what amounts to real originality.

Chief among his classical models was, of course, Vergil. And here we are confronted by the same strange contradiction which we have met elsewhere, notably in the case of Tertullian. In spite of his profound knowledge of the pagan writers, in spite of his dependence upon them for all sorts of stylistic ornaments, nevertheless he cannot reconcile study of the pa-

gans with true Christianity, and therefore decries the reading of the pagans, especially Vergil.

The ancient writers had been rebuked as pagans, yet their works were carefully studied, and they must have been regarded by the educated Christians as men of great enlightenment. The patristic writers were obliged to study the pagan authors, partly to refute them, partly because they were the basis of all culture. We have seen again and again that they are quoted as authorities even on matters of theological dogma. Jerome had said of Vergil (Comm. in Micheam, vi, 518), that he was "not the second but the first Homer of the Romans", and yet in a letter to Damasus (Epist. XXI, p. 123 Hilberg) he censures those priests who lay aside the Gospels and the prophets and read comedies, who recite the amorous words of bucolic poetry, who have Vergil ever in their hands, and take a sinful delight in that study which for children is a matter of necessity. But his own frequent reminiscences of Vergil show that it was impossible to dispel the words of the poet from his mind. For example (Comm. in Ezechiel, 40), in describing the darkness of the catacombs where many of the martyrs were interred, he says, "Here one can move only step by step, and in the gloom one is reminded of Vergil's phrase Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent." And yet when excited by emotions of reverence and piety he exclaims, (Epist. ad Eustochium, I, 12), "What has Horace to do with the Psalter, or Vergil with the Gospel, or Cicero with the Apostle?" Some of Jerome's adversaries, in their eagerness

to catch at any excuse, reproved him for this inconsistency. When he established a school in which grammar and rhetoric were taught, with Vergil as a background, his opponent Rufinus attacked him viciously for being so derelict in his duty as to allow young students to read pagan writers, casting Jerome's own words in his teeth as a rebuke.

Horace and Cicero both left their stamp on Jerome, but Vergil affected him most deeply. For instance, we find Vergil quoted in a discussion of the rhetorical figure aposiopesis; as an authority for the fact that incense came from Sheba; on the subject of placating gods in order that they might not injure men. Frequently a parallelism is noted between a Scriptural expression and a Vergilian phrase, as for instance in his commentary on Jeremiah 6, 4:—"Woe unto us! for the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out" he quotes as a parallel Vergil, Ecl. I, 82--83,

"et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant,
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae."

Similarly in commenting on Jeremiah 18, 14:—"Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon which cometh from the rock of the field? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken?" he quotes Vergil, Ecl. I, 59--60, 63,

"ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,
et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces,
quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus";

and on the same passage Vergil, Aen. I, 607--609,

"in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt."

Besides these examples of Vergilian usage, discussion of

which might be extended almost indefinitely, there are dozens of instances, especially in his letters, where Vergil is quoted to fill out a phrase, sometimes referred to by name, sometimes as poeta gentilis or some other equally general appellation. Frequent too are the instances where the Vergilian phrase appears without the formality of quotation marks, iterumque iterumque monebo, numero deus inpare gaudet, non omnia possumus omnes, dux femina facti, and many others. Sometimes the Vergilian idea is repeated in different words, as in etiam quae tuta sunt pertimescam, an evident reflection of omnia tuta timens of Aeneid IV, 298.

One important fact must, however, be remarked here. Vergil is quoted as an authority on literature, art, science, prosody, mythology, his ideas are freely borrowed, and his phrases are used ad libitum; but he is never quoted on questions specifically pertaining to the Christian faith, indeed Jerome girds at those Christians who quote pagan writers in support of Christian doctrines. Jerome really constitutes a link between the classical times and the middle ages; he is thoroughly saturated with profane learning, but he draws his religion from the well-springs of the faith--the Bible. We have his unequivocal statement that he does not believe in Vergil as a Messianic prophet. In a letter to Paulinus (Epist. LIII, ad Paul., p. 454, Hilberg), he throws ridicule upon those who look on Vergil as a Christian without Christ, and treats the whole matter as childish: "Quasi non legerimus Homero centonas et Vergilio centonas ac non sic etiam Maronem

sine Christo possimus dicere Christianum quia scripserit:

iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto,

et patrem loquentem ad filium

nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,

et post verba salvatoris in cruce

talia perstabat memorans, fixusque manebat.

Puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia, docere, quod ignores, immo, ut cum Clitomacho loquar, ne hoc quidem scire, quod nescias."

The Vergilian tradition in Jerome is quite evident and very easy to trace. He had been trained in the schools of rhetoric where Vergil was the great model, the consummation of all that was best in Latin style. Hence it is that Vergil appeals to him first of all as a purely literary figure. The idea of Vergil's universal knowledge is not evident, but there does appear some hint of his universal authority in secular matters, whether in poetry or prose, grammar or rhetoric, mythology or science, that is to say, in all the first elements of culture. He mocks at the belief in Vergil as a Messianic prophet, he never mentions him as a worker of wonders, and yet he was so profoundly influenced by him, that churchman as he was, he does not hesitate to quote the pagan poet as casting light even on the Holy Scriptures. He seems to be in doubt as to just how far a Christian can use the pagans and still be a Christian, and consequently invokes the

authority of Vergil only on secular matters, but even so there may be detected in him a hint, a shadowing forth of the universal authority which Vergil was later to have, in matters both secular and sacred. Jerome will not admit the infallibility of Vergil, his ascetic Christian spirit felt a repugnance toward some of the expressions of pagan sentiment, hence it is that in his writings the tradition of Vergil is not so fully rounded out as it later became. It must also be observed that he does not inveigh consistently against the pagan writers as such, he does not deny their educational value; what he does oppose is the tendency of some of the priests to let themselves be influenced by the pagans to the exclusion of everything else. In the development of his philosophy and theology he was chiefly influenced by the Scriptures, but in matters outside of this domain, in the field of general knowledge, of art, science, mythology, as well as in the more specialized field of linguistics, he was most powerfully affected by the pagans; and chief among these was Vergil, the most influential figure in the history of Poetry.

AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS

The wide-spreading activity and influence of Christian Latin literature found its culmination and consummation in the person of Aurelius Augustinus, an African. We have so far met no less than three church writers who have been decorated with the title of "Christian Cicero" honoris causa, but here we have one who has been deemed worthy of being ranked

as a "Christian Plato". He was born at Tagaste, in Numidia in 354. His father had been a pagan and his mother a Christian, but he for some time belonged to the sect of the Manicheans. While still a young man he went to Rome, and was from there called to Milan to take the chair of rhetoric, a responsible position for a man of thirty. While in Milan he fell under the sway of the bishop Ambrosius, and in 387 he allowed himself to be baptized. After leaving Milan he returned to his native town, and remained there until called to the priesthood at Hippo, where in 395 he became bishop.

For thirty-five years Augustine performed his manifold duties at Hippo. Living a simple and ascetic life, he devoted himself to helping the needy and unfortunate. In all his activities he is a forerunner of Thomas Aquinas. His manifold services to humanity spread his name through all the domain of the church, his opinions were always accorded the greatest respect at synods and councils.

Such was the unflagging industry of Augustine, that in spite of his exacting duties as bishop, he found time to do sufficient writing to be the most prolific of all the ecclesiastical writers. Not even Ambrosius and Jerome, fertile as they were, can compare with this prodigy of learning and industry. There are more than one hundred titles of works, chiefly of a theological or controversial nature, which belong to Augustine, beside a considerable collection of letters. Of these works it will be sufficient to emphasize two which are

important not only as theology but as world literature, the Confessions, and the treatise on the City of God, the De Civitate Dei.

The Confessions, one of the earliest biographies of which we have any trace, gives a moving description of his spiritual unfolding from his early youth to the time of his episcopate. It is unique among books by reason of its deep religious feeling combined with a striving upward for the best, and a "mystical yearning after the farther shore." The "City of God", on the other hand, is more of a philosophical work. It was composed as a rejoinder to those pagans who had asserted that the evils which had sapped the strength of Rome, and humbled her empire to the dust before the unkempt hordes of Alaric, were the result of Christianity and nothing else. In this book, a universal defence of his faith, Augustine concentrated all the vast stores of his learning and his eloquence. Professor Mackail has called the book "the epitaph of the ancient civilisation."

As a stylist, Augustine is a very notable figure, a powerful personality, far surpassing those patristic writers who preceded and followed him. In those of his works which were addressed to the learned world he has a style which is essentially classical, and in so far as was then possible, he used the classical speech. In those discourses, however, which

80
were intended for the people, he modified it to adapt it to a popular audience. All of Augustine's writings are characterized by passionate expression, flowing rhetoric, and clarity and simplicity of exposition.

Like many other of the church writers, Augustine was profoundly influenced by his intensive study of the classics. He drew material from the following authors: Claudian, Ennius, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Terentianus Maurus, Terence, Valerius Soranus, Vergil, Homer, Apuleius, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Justinus, Labeo, Livy, Plato, Pliny, Plotinus, Pomponius, Porphyry, Sallust, L. Annaeus Seneca, Tertullain and Varro. This list bespeaks on his part the possession of a truly formidable body of learning. Indeed, he had read and stored away in his vast memory all that was best in the literary productions of Rome and Greece, and he used the material freely in the preparation of his own works. Chief among his literary models was Vergil; and as an instance of the influence of Vergil we shall give a rather detailed summary of the rôle which the pagan poet plays in the De Civitate Dei, since this work shows¹ more Vergilian quotations than any other work of Augustine.

In this one work Vergil is quoted about seventy times, more frequently than all the other writers combined. Augustine must have had by heart the whole of the Vergilian cor-

pus. He quotes from the Aeneid, the Eclogues, and the Georgics, but the quotations from the Aeneid are the most numerous. In the De Civitate Dei he quotes Vergil for Roman history and mythology, for the grandeur and importance of Rome, for the impotence of the gods to defend their worshippers, and the need of the worshippers to protect the gods. He quotes him with satiric reference to the fact that the gods are troubled by the morals of mortals, and for the decadence of the moral spirit in Rome. For the dangers and moral laxity of the pagan religions he quotes the favorite poet of the Romans against themselves, where those who died by their ^{own} ~~one~~ hand are represented as suffering in the underworld. He also quotes Vergil in a spirit of reproof in a discussion of magic arts. He quotes him to show that the Brutus who slew his own sons was infelix. A Vergilian line is used to describe perfect composure of mind, and another is introduced to show how Porphyry had refuted one of the doctrines of Vergil in regard to the necessity imposed upon purified souls to taste of Lethe. He quotes from the Fourth Eclogue as prophetic of the coming glories of the kingdom of Christ. He rebukes Vergil for declaring that all the evils of the mind come from the body. On this same topic he quotes the words of Aeneas to his father on the subject of men's souls returning to their bodies. He quotes Vergil, calling him nobilissimus eorum poeta in a discussion of the stature of the men of former times. In a discussion of the message which God sent through the angels, Vergil is quoted together with the Bible. Lines of Vergil are

quoted in a discussion as to whether or not Saturn was a man, and in another place Vergil's authority is invoked on the subject of the early kings of Rome. On the subject of the end of the world and the falling stars he cites the Vergil in facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit. In a discussion of miracles, he says that if it were possible for the priestess of the Massylian race to stop the flow of water, change the course of the stars, and call up the spirits of the departed, as Vergil declares in the Aeneid (IV, 487), how much more probable is ~~it~~ that God can perform miracles, which, though well within his power, are nevertheless incomprehensible to the heathen? In treating of the views of the Platonics who declared that there were no sins without punishment, but that penalties are established for all sins, either during life or after death, he quotes Vergil, though only to refute him. He quotes him also on technical points such as etymology. Frequently, too, the same quotation will be used more than once.

The condition just reviewed in the De Civitate Dei obtains also in the rest of Augustine's work, though the number of actual quotations is not so large. All through his varied writings he quotes Vergil more than any other author, and just as he knew the pagan authors better and used them more often than any other ecclesiastical writer, so his use of Vergil is more extensive than that found anywhere else in the history of Christian Latin literature.

Augustine's acquaintance with Vergil began very early. In speaking of his early education he says (Conf. I, 20) cogebat tenere Aeneae nescio cuius errores. For a long time he was in the habit of reading Vergil every day, but when he was forty-three years old a sudden access of asceticism caused him to deplore the days in which he let himself "weep for Dido because she slew herself for love, though at the same time I was unmoved to tears when dying to Thee, O God, my life, ah, wretched man that I was." (Conf. I, 20).

He is so entranced with the Trojan story that he says, (Conf. I, 22), "et esset dulcissimum spectaculum....equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium 'atque ipsius umbra Creusae'". (Cf. Aen. II, 772). He says in another place that he was obliged to declaim Vergil--a regular exercise in the schools. "Proponebatur enim mihi negotium animae satis inquietum praemio laudis et dedecoris vel plagarum metu, ut dicerem verba Junonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non posset 'Italia Teucrorum avertere regem'" (Conf. I, 27). He describes the school exercises (l. c.) in which "we were forced to follow in the footsteps of the poets, and to tell in prose words what the poet had said in his verses; and that one excelled who pretended to be affected by wrath or grief like the character whom he was impersonating, and clothed his thoughts in the most fitting words." Augustine says that he was accounted very skilful at this exercise, and indeed we can tell from his works that he was a singularly penetrating

and consistent student of the great classic writers.

Augustine not only believed thoroughly in Vergil as a Messianic prophet, but even went so far as to say that there were among the pagans several prophets who foretold the coming of Christ. This declaration appears in a general form in several instances, notably in the Contra Faustum, Bk. XIII, chaps. 1, 2, 15, 17. In the Epist. ad Romanos incohata expositio, chap. 3, he says:

"Fuerunt enim et prophetae non ipsius, in quibus etiam aliqua inveniuntur, quae de Christo audita cecinerunt, sicut etiam de Sibylla dicitur; quod non facile crederem nisi quod poetarum quidam in Romana lingua nobilissimus antequam diceret ea de innovatione saeculi, quae in Domini nostri Jesu Christi regnum satis concinere et convenire videantur, praeposuit versum, dicens 'Ultima Cumaei iam venit carminis aetas.' Cumaeum autem carmen Sibyllinam esse nemo dubitaverit."

With this compare the statement in the De Civitate Dei, X, 27, where he says:

"De quo (i. e. Christo) etiam poeta nobilissimus, poetice quidem, quia in alterius adumbrata persona, veraciter tamen, si ad ipsum referas, dixit: (here he quotes Ecl. IV, 13--14)...scelerum tamen manere vestigia, quae non nisi ab illo Salvatore sanantur, de quo iste versus expressus est. Nam utique non hoc a se ipso se dixisse Vergilius in eclogae ipsius quarto ferme versu indicat, ubi ait: 'Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas', unde hoc a Cumaea Sibylla dictum esse incunctanter apparet. i /

In Epist. 258, 5, he has much the same thing:

"Nam omnino non est, cui alteri praeter dominum Christum dicat genus humanum (here he again quotes Ecl. IV, 13--14). Quod ex Cumaeo, id est ex Sibyllino carmine se fassus est transtulisse Vergilius."

We have elsewhere noted that Lactantius makes considerable use of the Sibylline books in discussing the tangled question of the Fourth Eclogue, but in no other author do we find such con-

tinued insistence on that Eclogue with its supposed prophecy of the Christ as we do in Augustine.

Another phase of the Vergilian tradition in Augustine is that the worthy bishop believes the pagan poet to have imitated certain passages from the Holy Scriptures. This is not a new theory. Tertullian had declared that all the poetical and philosophical ideas of Greece and Rome were either borrowed or adapted from the Old Testament, and Jerome had in several instances indicated the parallel between Vergil and the Old Testament. Similarly Augustine definitely says that Vergil had imitated the Scriptures in De Civitate Dei XV, 19:

"Imitatus namque est poeta ille litteras sacras, in quibus dicitur domus Jacob iam ingens populus Hebraeorum." (Cf. Aen. I, 284; III, 97)

Again in the De Civitate Dei, XXI, 27, we find this:

"Mirari autem soleo etiam apud Vergilium reperiri istam Domini sententiam, ubi ait: 'Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis ut et ipsi recipiant vos in tabernacula aeterna.' <Luke XVI, 9> Cui est et illa simillima: 'Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae, mercedem prophetae accipiet; et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet.' <Matthew X, 41> Nam cum Elysios campos poeta ille describeret, ubi putant habitare animas beatorum, non solum ibi posuit eos, qui propriis meritis ad illas sedes pervenire potuerunt, sed adiecit atque ait: 'Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo', <Aen. VI, 664>, id est, qui promeruerunt alios, eosque sui memores premerendo fecerunt. Prorsus tamquam iis dicerent, quod frequentatur ore Christiano, cum se cuique sanctorum humilis quisque commendat et dicit 'Memor mei esto', atque id ut esse possit, promerendo efficit."

In addition to these direct quotations from Vergil, there are numerous instances where Augustine has used Vergilian imitations or allusions in discussing various questions on mythology, natural phenomena, nature lore, etc. For instance,

Vergil is referred to on the subject of Jupiter and his place in the pantheon, on Juno as sister and wife of Jove, and on the subject of her hatred for Aeneas. Neptune is, according to Vergil, the ruler of the sea, and the builder, with the aid of Apollo, of the walls of Troy. Pluto is the king of the underworld, whose dominions are guarded by Cerberus, and in this connection is also brought in the Vergilian picture of the Elysian fields. The Vergilian version of the legend of Proserpina is also adduced, and so with the legends of Mars and Rhea Silvia, of Venus and Adonis, of Mercury as the inventor of letters and the messenger of the gods, of Minerva in her various aspects of Tritonia, Diana or Luna, and patroness of the arts and of the olive tree; of Cybele, of the Fates and of Janus. The demi-gods such as Circe, Proteus, Hercules and Rhadamanthys appear in Augustine as they do in Vergil, and the [Vergilian] picture of the Homeric heroes is also drawn from Vergil. Other subjects the knowledge of which may have had a Vergilian origin are the functions of the two rivers Phlegethon and Lethe, the spontaneous generation of bees and the use of the celebrated incense from Sheba. These last named references are scarcely of the nature of direct quotations, but the Vergilian idea is incorporated with a very slight change of the wording.

In addition to these direct or indirect adaptations of Vergil there are some hundreds of instances where only the use of a rare or poetic phrase betrays the Vergilian origin.

Such phrases as manibus cruentis, tam dira cupido, ortus et obitus, preces et vota, aspera et dura, the list of which could be strung out almost indefinitely, show that Augustine's mind was so thoroughly saturated with the words of Vergil that the Vergilian phrases had become an integral part of his own vocabulary.

To recapitulate, Augustine makes the widest use of Vergil of any of the Christian writers. To Augustine Vergil is a universal and omniscient authority. He is quoted not only on questions of fact, but on questions of doctrine. The poet's testimony is accepted on matters of mythology, geography, science, art, indeed on all questions of general knowledge. In addition to all this, the Messianic prophecy plays in Augustine the largest role yet observed in the ecclesiastical writings; indeed Augustine extends the doctrine to include others beside Vergil. The only phase of the Vergilian tradition which Augustine does not mention is that which assigned to the poet magical powers, and as we shall see later, this does not appear in the literature until the twelfth century. The Aeneid is quoted or referred to more often than any other single work, but the Eclogues and Georgics play a by no means insignificant part. The poems of the Appendix Vergiliana are never referred to; whether this omission is due to accident or to design it is impossible to guess.

Augustine does not indulge in heated denunciations of

the pagan writers as did so many of his predecessors. It is true that twinges of conscience had brought him to the point of regretting his early studies in the pagan classics. We find him using such terms as fumus et ventus...inania nugarum to describe these studies; once he speaks of poetica falsitate and even goes so far as to say (De Civ. Dei I, 4) Vergilius poetarum more illa mentitus est; but this is only a transient sentiment, for Augustine continued to read Vergil as did the other Christian writers. These adverse comments by no means express his real opinion of the great Roman poet. What he really thought of him is indicated by the fact that he openly calls him nobilissimus poeta, and still more by the fact that he used him more than any other ancient author, he looked upon him as the wisest man of the ages, and the only one of the pagans whose philosophy bore any real resemblance to the Christian faith.

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS

Prudentius (348--c. 410) is the first appearance in the long list of patristic writers of a poet of the first rank. He flourished in the declining years of the fourth century and the opening years of the fifth, a period glorified by such figures as Ambrosius, Jerome and Augustine, the Golden Age of ecclesiastical writing. Like his predecessor Iuvenecus, Prudentius was born in Spain, but as a poet he is infinitely more original. Though he came from the provinces,

and though he spent most of his life at a considerable distance from the Eternal City, nevertheless he is Rome's most brilliant poet in his chosen field. From his own day down to the present, his work has met with nothing but praise. Ancient criticism is at one with modern on this point, the dictum of the Venerable Bede: nobilissimus Hispanorum scholasticus is in perfect consonance with a modern comment by Bentley Christianorum Maro et Flaccus. Prudentius exercised no little influence upon later poets; others of the patristic versifiers imitated him, and centuries later when the poets of the Renaissance fashioned their verses, they frequently made use of Prudentius, while most of the other late Latin poets were reposing undisturbed in the dust of the top shelf.

Prudentius studied law and entered public life, where he rose to be "twice magistrate of noble cities." Somewhat late in life he abandoned the emoluments of public office, and devoted himself to writing poetry for the greater glory of God. In this he was, as already intimated, singularly successful. As a poet he is noteworthy for his versatility no less than for his fecundity. He brought the same authoritative touch to the widely diverging fields of lyric, epic, and didactic poetry, and stands supreme as the most productive poet of his time, not only in the mere number of his verses, but in the peculiar originality of his creations.

His works include the Liber Cathemerinon, a collection

of twelve hymns, the first six of which are for daily use; the Peristephanon, a series of hymns to the martyrs; the Apotheosis, a didactic poem on the divinity of Christ; the Hamartigenia, a piece of polemical writing against the heretical dualism of Marcion; the Contra Symmachum, another polemic work; the Psychomachia, partaking of the qualities of both polemic and didactic, the first example of Christian allegory in Europe; and the so-called Dittochaeon, a series of sketches from the Scriptures. ²⁰⁰ These poems all have a literary interest aside from their religious significance. In the Cathemerinon and the Peristephanon he has lifted the hymn from the realm of liturgy and made it literature; Professor Mackail has called them "The most substantial addition made to Latin lyrical poetry since Horace."

So far as style is concerned, Prudentius shines by contrast with many other Christian writers. ¹ He lived in an age conspicuous for lavish and tasteless ornamentation, but there is very little of this in his work. There are occasions when his moralizing becomes rather wearisome, there are some passages from which the most industrious translator can extract but little meaning, but these are the exceptions. On the whole his style is excellent, and his diction does not far depart from the classical standards. And these classical standards he had always before him. In his time the classic poets were studied with the most meticulous exactness, and

1

For a technical discussion of these points see E. B. Lease, *A Syntactic, Stylistic and Metrical Study of Prudentius*. (J. H. U. Diss., 1895)

the Christian writers sought to emulate them by a strict adherence to technical rules. Literature at that time was a product of the schools where the text-books were the great classic writers; hence much that is best in the writings of the authors of this period is directly traceable to the influence of the great works of classical Latin.

Prudentius was no exception to this rule. He received in the schools a training based on a thorough knowledge of the classics, and frequent traces of them may be detected in his own work. His chief models were Vergil and Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Seneca, Silius Italicus, Statius,--the standard list for the students of rhetoric. There are also traces of some of the Christian writers, notable Lactantius, Ambrosius, and Tertullian.

As might be expected, Vergil contributes more than any other classical author, especially in those poems other than lyric. Recollections may be gathered from every book of the Aeneid, every book of the Georgics, and from most of the Eclogues, while there are a few passages which can be referred to the poems of the Appendix Vergiliana. In many of these instances it may be assumed that the imitation is perfectly conscious; in other cases it was probably not deliberate, and not felt as an imitation, for so thoroughly was all writing of this time, both sacred and secular, imbued with the language of Vergil, that Vergilian phrases take their place in it as a matter of course. It was inevitable that in his hex-

ameters Prudentius should follow one model--Vergil. Others had written Latin hexameters, but ^{these} ~~there~~ verses were but little used; Vergil was the paramount figure in this field. Prudentius has again and again imitated the Vergilian manner of handling the verse. At the beginning and end of his verses he has continually used favorite Vergilian expressions, similar phrases have been incorporated into the middle of the verse, and consistent attempts have been made to catch the cadence and rhythm of the master poet. Besides these there are dozens of instances when a chance phrase, a colorful epithet ¹ would point to a Vergilian origin.

The rôle which Vergil plays in Prudentius is exclusively that of a literary model. Prudentius never uses Vergil as a compendium of universal knowledge as Augustine had done, he never quotes him in support of Christian doctrine, he never refers to him as a prophet or seer; he looked upon him as a purely literary figure who had established a norm for both verse and language which must be adhered to by all such as attempt to write Latin verse.

PAULINUS NOLANUS

Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus was born at Bordeaux in 353. His family was one of the most distinguished in Aquitaine, and boasted a descent from some of the most ^{eminent} [distinguished] houses in Rome. He was given the sort of education

¹ Cf. Filippo Ermini, *Peristephanon*, (Rome 1914), p. 145; F. Dixel, *Des Prudentius Verhaeltniss zu Vergil*, (Erlangen Diss., 1907).

which befitted the son of a wealthy man, he had for a tutor no less a person than the poet Ausonius, to whom he owed much of his refined perception of the beauties of literature.

Paulinus early gave evidence of the possession of great abilities, so much so that in the year 378, at the age of 25, he was made consul. This was, to be sure, a hollow honor at the time, but it was indicative of the fact that Paulinus was a man of more than average capacity. After his year of office had expired, he betook himself to Spain, where he continued his literary studies, and seems to have done some writing. As time passed he drew more and more into seclusion, devoting his days to philosophical meditation. Ausonius tried to arouse in him some of his erst-while love for worldly learning, but his pupil wrote to him, "The hearts dedicated to Christ refuse homage to the Muses, they are closed to Apollo." Paulinus later attempted to bring his old master into his own way of thinking, and this brought about a rupture between them. Not long afterward Paulinus sold all his property, divided it among the poor, and passed the remainder of his life in poverty. So great was his faith and so noble his works that in 409 he was made bishop of Nola, which office he retained until his death in 431.

In spite of his absorption in religious matters, Paulinus did not allow his poetic ability to lie fallow; on the contrary, his contributions to literature are by no means insignificant. His works include metrical epistles to Ausonius,

a series of hexameter verses to St. Felix; paraphrases of Psalms, an ode to Nicetas, two polemic works entitled Adversus Paganos, and a number of minor poems. In addition to these poetic efforts he is responsible for a considerable collection of prose, consisting of letters written, for the most part, to dignitaries of the church. Even after he had abjured secular poetry the training in the classics which he had received under Ausonius stood him in good stead. He succeeded to a remarkable degree in adapting the classic verse-forms--the hexameter, the distich, even the Sapphic strophe--to Christian subjects. He has not Ausonius' direct kinship with the ancients, but in power of phrase and sensitiveness of appreciation he is well-nigh the equal of his distinguished preceptor.

Paulinus shows the literary influences which might be expected of a Christian who had been trained in the atmosphere of the pagan classics. As a result of his long pondering of the Scriptures, his works are permeated with biblical allusions, but they are also full of recollections of the classics. We find traces of Vergil, Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Horace, Ovid; even Tibullus has left his mark on two or three passages. On the Greek side there are traces of Plato, but the scope of his Greek reading is narrow.

Of all the pagan writers Vergil appears most frequently, so frequently in fact, that it ^{is} evident that Paulinus had devoted much careful study to him. His name is mentioned on-

ly three times, once as Maro and twice as Vergilius, but there are many instances where the use of Vergilian phraseology shows that Vergil's work was constantly present to the mind of the Christian poet. Sometimes merely a chance word will give the clue, sometimes the phrases echoed amount really to quotations without the quotation marks, as where the verse will be filled out with a tag like repetens iterumque iterumque monebo, or dum spiritus hos regit artus. Frequently short phrases like mille nocendi artes or non passibus aequis will appear; sometimes the Vergilian expression will be used with the change of a single word as in Carm. XV, 256, tacitae per amica silentia noctis, an obvious reflection of the tacitae per amica silentia lunae of Aen. II, 255. The Vergilian tradition in Paulinus resolves itself down to this one phase--to him Vergil was a literary character pure and simple. With none of his other activities is Paulinus concerned; his long training in the classics had caused him to regard Vergil as an authority only on matters literary, and as a store-house of words and phrases. He acknowledged his supremacy in this field, but in no other is his authority invoked.

RUFINUS

Tyrannius Rufinus was born near Aquileia about the year 345. Early in life he entered the monastery for which his native city was famous, and received there the beginnings of

his theological training. Most of his life was spent in Aquileia. In his old age the incursions of the Goths compelled him to flee to the south of Italy, and he died in Messina in 410.

He has left a large number of works, but most of them are translations of the writings of the Greek fathers, especially Origen and Eusebius. His original work includes the Ecclesiastica Historia, a book which is very important for the history of monasticism, and is variously known as Vitae Patrum, Historia Eremitica or Historia Monachorum; and the Apologia adversus Hieronymum, a savage attack on his quondam friend who had become estranged from him through a quarrel on questions of dogma.

The stern ascetic spirit which had prompted Rufinus to deny the world and shut himself up in a monastery is plainly to be traced in his attitude toward the pagan writers. Men like Jerome and Augustine had experienced some difficulty in reconciling study of the pagans with true Christianity; they read them, but suffered in their consciences for doing it. The mind of Rufinus was cast in a different mold; he was essentially the ascetic, hence in his eyes the reading of the pagan authors was a heinous offence. He loses no opportunity of giving public expression to his scorn for the pagans and all their ways and works. One of the bitterest accusations which he can heap upon an opponent is to accuse him of reading the classics. Thus in the midst of a vicious attack on Jerome (Apol. ad. S. Hier. II, 7) he tells the story of Je-

rome's famous dream, of the blows which he received, and of the angel's reproach Ciceronianus es non Christianus, and mentions that in his dream Jerome had promised to have nothing more to do with the pagans. He then proceeds:

"Relegantur nunc, quaeso, quae scribit, si una eius operis pagina est quae non eum iterum Ciceronianum pronuntiet, ubi non dicat: sed Tullius noster, sed Flaccus noster, sed Maro. Iam vero Chrysippum et Aristidem, Empedoclem et caetera Graecorum auctorum nomina ut doctus videatur, et plurimae lectionis, tamquam fumos et nebulas lectoribus spargit. Denique inter caetera etiam Pythagorae libros legisse se jactat, quos ne ~~existere~~ quidem, eruditi homines asserunt."

Against the reproaches here levelled against Jerome, Rufinus had carefully guarded himself, for no quotation from any pagan author appears in his work.

But a more direct statement of his belief in the deleterious effect of the study of the pagans is found in a succeeding section of the same work, (op. cit. II, 8), where he censures Jerome most severely not only for reading the pagans himself, but for using them as a basis for instruction in the school which he had founded. After talking at length about Jerome's reading of Cicero and Plato he continues:

"cum ad haec omnia quae superdiximus, etiam illud addatur, ubi cesset omne commentum, quod in monasterio positus in Bethleem ante non multo adhuc tempore, partes grammaticas exsecutus sit, et Maronem suum, Comicosque ac Lyricos et Historicos auctores traditis sibi ad discendum Dei timorem puerelis exponebat, scilicet et ut praeceptor fieret Auctorum Gentilium, quos si legisset tantummodo, Christum se negaturum, iuraverat."

Rufinus, then, bears much the same relation to Vergil as some of the earlier enemies of classical pursuits, notably

Tertullian and Arnobius. He cannot reconcile study of the heathen authors with true Christianity, he believes that no one can indulge in these studies without being derelict in his duty, he heaps the most bitter reproaches upon churchmen who read the pagan writers and cause them to be read, he indicates clearly his belief that these authors have no place in the library of a true Christian. He never mentions Vergil's name save to malign him and to castigate those who read his works. He is not touched by any of those graces which have endeared Vergil to readers of all ages and all races; to him, the master poet was an idolatrous dog whose writings would contaminate all who came in contact with them. It is interesting to note that Rufinus is the last Christian writer to abuse the pagans in this fashion, succeeding generations of patristic writers read the pagans, especially Vergil, without any qualms of conscience whatever.

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS

Sulpicius Severus, a presbyter of Aquitaine, belongs somewhere at the beginning of the fifth century. His works consist of a short universal history from the creation of the world to his own times, a biography of St. Martin of Tours, and two dialogues after the manner of Cicero also devoted to St. Martin. There are in addition a number of letters attributed to him, only three of which are now adjudged genuine. The style of the writings is refreshingly good, and bespeaks a careful study of the great classic patterns. The diction is modelled

on some of the post-Augustan masters of Latin prose, notably¹ Sallust, Tacitus, and perhaps Velleius. Severus, however, injects into his style enough individuality to save his work from becoming a mere mosaic.

Among the poets, Vergil is the only one whose influence is at all significant, although even he plays no such predominant rôle as the prose writers mentioned above. There is only one example of direct mention of Vergil (Chron. II, 8, 3; p. 63 Halm), where Sulpicius tells an apocryphal story to the effect that there was among the Babylonians a bronze statue of the old King Belus, cuius etiam Virgilius meminit, identifying him with the Belus of Aen. I, 729. The other traces of Vergil in Sulpicius are purely linguistic. He used Vergil as a great model, as a storehouse of trenchant phrases rather than ideas. He never invokes the authority of the poet as Augustine had done, he does not use him as an encyclopaedia of history as had Tertullian, nor does he, in the manner of Lactantius, use Vergilian phrases to lend support to Christian doctrines; he had on the contrary read Vergil carefully and consistently, so that the phraseology of the master poet had woven itself into his own so as at once to strengthen and beautify it. The influence of Vergil on Sulpicius extends no farther than this, it never passes beyond the external, the literary and linguistic.

1

Cf. J. Schell, De Sulpicio Severo Sallustianae Livianae Taciteae Elocutionis Imitatore, (Monasterii Guestf? 1892); Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa, Vol. II, p. 583.

PAULUS OROSIUS

Paulus Orosius was a Spanish presbyter who undertook, at the instance of St. Augustine, a universal history from the creation of the world down to the year 417 A. D. Beside this historical work we have from his pen two polemical treatises. His most important work is the history, which bears the title Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII. In the compilation of this history, Orosius employed a great many authorities, but he uses them in a most uncritical manner. In addition to the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, he used and sometimes quoted Livy, Suetonius, Tacitus, Justinus, Eutropius and Augustine. He uses without mentioning them, Florus and the Chronicle of Eusebius. For Roman history his source is chiefly Livy, except for the period of the Empire when he uses Tacitus and Suetonius. In the account of the Civil War Caesar's De Bello Gallico is used, but Orosius attributes the work to Suetonius. Beside the Latin writers, Orosius mentions a number of Greek authors, most of whose works he probably never saw.

The style of Orosius depends on which of the authorities he happens to be copying at the time. When he himself speaks his style is involved to a degree, and is continually resonant of what Hazlitt called the "din and smithery of school-learning." He had no originality of expression, no ability to crystallize an idea into a sparkling phrase, but once or twice when he hits upon what he considers a happy combination of words he repeats it several times. That his ear is soothed

by the mechanical jingle of a phrase like tenentes terentes tegentes is a sufficient commentary on the delicacy of his style.

Of all his sources, the on which chiefly influenced his diction was Vergil. Vergilian quotations, quite frequently in Orosius, as he used Vergil as an authority on many subjects. The words of Vergil are applied to the mournful condition of affairs in Rome after the slaughter of the Fabii by the Veientes; Vergilian lines are quoted to indicate the difference between the Africa of the time of Vergil and that of Orosius. A discussion of the statement made by some of the pagans that the Romans had lost the good-will of the gods because they had relaxed their piety is introduced by a phrase from the Aeneid. Similarly the words of Vergil are invoked to lend weight to the statement that the oracle of Delphi was abolished because it was found to be a hollow mockery--vana et dubia; and a dissertation on the technique of sacrificing is embellished by a verse from the Georgics. A strange application of pagan literature to one of the most sacred phases of the Christian belief is the use of Vergil's line Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem as descriptive of the darkness which settled over the land from the sixth to the ninth hour during the Crucifixion. On the very next page is a rhapsody on the peace and calm of the world in Christian times as compared to the turmoils and disturbances of the pagan régime, in which is quoted Vergil's picture of Furor in Aeneid I,

294 ff. In another passage Orosius indulges in a highly imaginative description of the similarity in condition of the Christians under the Romans and the Jews under the Egyptians. A large part of this discussion is taken up by a recital of the ten plagues which afflicted the Egyptians, and ten similar visitations which had harassed the Romans. Corresponding to the plague of hail among the Egyptians, a pestilence had raged through all the Roman domains in the time of Gallus and Volusianus, and for this Orosius can find no more fitting phrase than the corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo of Georgics III, 481. In one instance he is indebted to Eutropius for a Vergilian tag. This occurs in the passage where, in detailing the events during the reign of Aurelian, he repeats the story that the puppet emperor Tetricus, finding himself in dire straits because of a mutiny of his soldiers, sends a plea for assistance couched in the Vergilian phrase Eripe me his, invicte, malis. There is an illuminating example of the hasty and ill-considered scholarship of Orosius where he identifies the fluvius Arnus of Livy 22, 2, 2 with the river Sarnus of Aeneid VII, 738.

Beside these examples of direct quotation, there are numerous instances where Orosius has welded on a fragment of Vergil, changing the word-order just enough so that to the casual reader it will resemble prose. Thus the lines from the Aeneid II, 361--2:

"quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?"

appear in Orosius, very slightly changed, as:

"quis enim cladem illius temporis, quis funera explicet aut aequare lacrimis possit dolores?"

Again, the nec via mortis erat simplex of Georg. III, 482 appears in the prose of Orosius as nec ipsius mortis erat via simplex; the via prima salutis of Aen. VI. 96 suffers a metamorphosis into prima salutis via. There are many more instances of this phenomenon, but those quoted will suffice to illustrate a frequent use of Vergil in Orosius. These reminiscences have a somewhat different aspect from those which have been noted in other church writers; they are not the chance phrases, the "jewels five-words-long" such as appear in Lactantius or Augustine without the quotation marks, for those phrases retain in prose their regular poetic form. In Orosius these echoes which cannot be classes_d as direct quotations are sufficiently changed from the original by the addition or suppression of one or two words, or by a juggling of the phraselolgy, as almost to make us suspect that Orosius was attempting to pass off Vergil's language as his own.

In all the instances of direct quotation in Orosius, the poet's name is mentioned only once, and that is where Orosius is moralizing upon the sentiment, familiar to all who have read the first book of the Aeneid, Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit. The other citations are introduced by a general phrase such as poeta praemonuit, dictum est, or by way of variant, dictum et vere dictum est. There are also numerous instances when the quotation is simply inserted with no introductory phrase of any kind.

As to the scope of the Vergilian influence, there appear in Orosius traces of the four books of the Goergics, and from nearly all of the books of the Aeneid. Quotations or echoes from the Aeneid, especially from the first six books, preponderate, while the Eclogues are not represented by a single citation or reminiscence. It should be observed that the Vergilian influence is confined to the history; the apologetic works yield no trace of any of the pagan writers.

It is impossible to glean from Orosius any hint of what his own sentiments were toward Vergil and the other pagan writers. He does not denounce the pagans, nor abuse the other Christians for using them; he probably considered that his own unrestrained use of the classic authorities was sufficiently indicative of his point of view. On one occasion he uses the adverb prudenter in offering a quotation, but nowhere do we find any categorical statement either in praise or blame of the pagan authors.

To recapitulate, Orosius employed Vergil chiefly as a literary authority. He incorporated his language into his own style, he quotes him on subjects of history, geography and mythology, but he seems rather chary of accepting Vergil's authority on religious matters. To be sure, he uses a phrase from Vergil in the midst of his description of the Crucifixion, and again in his recital of the plagues of Egypt, but these Vergilianisms are brought in by way of decorative embroidery, and not because they have any real or supposed religious significance. There is to be detected in Orosius no hint of Ver-

gil as a Messianic prophet or as a Christian without Christ. In contradistinction to those of the ecclesiastical writers who looked upon Vergil as an omniscient authority, Orosius uses him almost exclusively as a source for rhetorical embellishment or general knowledge, and never as corroborative testimony of any doctrine directly involving any phase of faith.

PROSPER OF AQUITAINE

Prosper of Aquitaine was born near the year 400. The exact date and place of his birth are uncertain, nor do we know¹ definitely whether he was bishop, priest or prelate. He was a most zealous adherent of Augustine, and in every way strove to emulate the great bishop of Hippo, but so far as can be determined, the two men never saw each other.

The literary work of Prosper is in both prose and verse. Many of his prose writings are of a controversial tone, and are interesting only from the point of view of theology. The most important of the non-theological works is his continuation of the chronicle of Jerome, which, in the absence of other authorities, has considerable interest. Of his poetical works the most significant is the De Ingratis, a polemic of over one thousand verses. In addition, he is the author of a book of epigrams, containing more than one hundred small poems in distichs, most of the material for which is drawn from Augustine.

¹

See L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine*, Toulouse, 1900.

Prosper occupies an anomalous position in literary history. His productions are of no great intrinsic value, and yet his work had considerable influence. His *chronicle* was known all through the middle ages, his book of epigrams was used as a text in the schools, and selections from them appear in the mediaeval anthologies. His style has some precision, and is strongly flavored with rhetoric, not only in his prose **but** in his verse. His poetry is not notable for any sublimity of expression or grandeur of music. His voluminous biographer the Abbé Valentin (op. cit. p. 525) has said with perfect justice "The rhythm is the principle difference between his prose and his verse." Indeed, his verse is dry and jejune, and lacks spontaneity. The best feature of his poetry is the technical exactitude of his prosody.

Prosper's training in the schools had included a thorough instruction in the pagan classics; hence it is that he betrays an admiration of the pagans which one would scarce expect from an author who otherwise displays toward them such an intransigent attitude. This admiration of the pagans is a direct result of his attempts to follow in the steps of Augustine, who, as we have noticed, made a thorough and consistent use of the classics. Just as Augustine had flavored his works with bits of Vergil, so Prosper has injected the words of the poet into the midst of his discussions. He never cites Vergil directly, but he borrows expressions from him with the utmost freedom. He adapts Vergilian phrases to his own use in the manner so often noticed in the patristic writers. Thus

the phrase sua cuique voluptas becomes sua cuique voluntas; the famous omnia vincit amor appears in his epigrams, and the laudatory Te sine nil altum mens incohat applied by Vergil to his patron, is given an elevated sense by Prosper and applied to Christ. In this way Vergil's works are constantly appearing in a Christian dress. Like all the ecclesiastical writers of his time Prosper loved Vergil and used him constantly. The Aeneid is for him the Sylva vocabulorum....lectionum where he finds his richest expressions. In presenting his poems to the reader he could say

"dignare Maronem
mutatum in melius divino agnoscere sensu."

But however great was Prosper's admiration for Vergil, he borrows from him only the form. He reproduces Vergilian phrases in a Christian setting, but he never uses a mythological allusion. He never indulges in the common-place invocation to the Muses which frequently appears in the Christian writings, he does not allow himself to refer to the delightful mythical tales with which many of the patristic writers had garnished their pages. So uncompromising was his Christianity that to have made free use of the appurtenances of a pagan religion would have seemed detrimental to his own faith.

In Prosper we find the same condition so often remarked in the patristic writers. He was carefully nourished on the great classic writers, so that while he never quotes Vergil, yet the Vergilian reminiscence flows readily from his pen. He is thus enabled to express Christian ideas in the style of Vergil, and in this borrowed style he attains to real origi-

nality. His Vergilian training was complete; all of Vergil's works appear from time to time in chance phrases, and no small part of what vigor and beauty his style possesses comes from these reminiscences of the classics.

CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTOR

Claudius Marius Victor is by no means an imposing figure in literary history. He is the author of the Alethia, a verse rendering of a part of the book of Genesis. The work is done with some skill, but it never reaches great inspirational heights. His use of verse as a medium made it rather difficult to adhere closely to his model, there are frequent instances of wide discrepancy between the Alethia and the actual text of Genesis.

Marius was by profession a rhetor, and the classical authors who have left their mark on him are precisely those who were most favored in the schools of rhetoric. The list includes Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Pliny, Lucretius, and Suetonius. The number of imitations from Vergil, however, exceeds those from all the other pagan authors combined. We find traces of seven of the Eclogues, of all of the Georgics, of every book of the Aeneid; there is even one echo from the Culex. These Vergilian echoes can hardly be classed as direct quotations; they are of the same type as those frequently noted before, i. e. phrases introduced with no mention of the author's name. The point, however, is this. Marius had set himself to write a poem in hexameters. Now in the estimation of every Latin speaking person, Vergil was

the one great authority in this field. Hence anyone who was to write in this measure was obliged to devote much careful study to Vergil so as to be able, if possible, to catch the secret of his verse. Marius had therefore studied Vergil in such fashion that he seems to have got by heart the whole body of his work.. His mind was so full of Vergil, that in his own work he is constantly reproducing Vergilian expressions.

These echoes of Vergil, however, are all of one kind, that is, they are introduced purely by way of rhetorical embellishment. There are no quotations to establish points of faith, for Marius was not writing polemic, he was not concerned with controversial questions, he was merely re-telling the Bible narrative. No appeal is made to Vergil as Messianic prophet, as authority on matters of religion, history, science, or art. Marius had used Vergil with the utmost freedom as a literary source, he had imitated his versification, he had borrowed his language most generously, but the Vergilian tradition in his work is limited to one phase--the literary. Marius was not concerned with the other phases of Vergil's influence, but he looked upon him as a great literary model which must be followed by all such as would gain distinction in writing Latin verse.

SEDULIUS

One of the really significant figures in the literature of the fifth century is the Christian poet Sedulius. Our in-

formation about him is meager in the extreme. We have no knowledge of what his other name was, nor do we know the place and date of his birth. Tradition has it that he was born in the latter half of the fifth century, devoted himself in his youth to worldly learning, went to Greece to study, and there came under the influence of the priest Macedonius. Roused by his exhortations, Sedulius abjured worldly pursuits, dedicated himself to the religious life, and became a presbyter. In order to demonstrate to the world at large the happiness of clerical life he composed the Paschale Carmen, a sort of general exposition of the glories of Christianity. In the introductory book he indicates how vastly superior are the wonders of God to all the myths of the pagans, and then passes in review all the miracles of God which are described in the Old Testament. The remaining four books are devoted to a rehearsal of the miracles of the New Testament.

After Sedulius had finished his poem, his labor was not yet at an end. His preceptor Macedonius, to whom the poem had been dedicated, seems to have been haunted by doubts whether the exigencies of composition had not compelled the author unduly to limit his material, and perhaps even to omit some facts necessary to an adequate development of the subject. Macedonius accordingly urged Sedulius to append to the Paschale Carmen a paraphrase in prose where the expression of his thought would be untrammelled by the meter and where he could do full justice to the subject. Sedulius complied by adding to the poem a prose rendering of the same topic, entitled Paschale

Opus. An anomalous condition obtains here, because in spite of the fact that the prose version was written as a sort of commentary on the poem, the prose is, nevertheless, much more difficult to read than is the poetry.¹ This condition arises partly because Sedulius was obliged to have recourse to certain artificialities in order to give a new form to his ideas, partly because he was a more facile writer of verse than of prose, and partly because the prose of his time had retained less of the classical spirit, and had suffered more from the influences of common life and ordinary language. The poetry of Sedulius is really classical in tone, his prose, on the other hand, is seriously tainted with the sermo popularis.

Sedulius shows evident traces of the possession of a vast fund of classical learning, his works prove that he was on intimate terms with all the great classic writers--not to mention some that were not so great. His pages are full of recollections from Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Persius, Claudian, Ausonius, Juvenal, Statius. Nor did he scorn the poets of Christianity; Prudentius, Iuvencus, Paulinus Nolanus, Claudius Marius Victor lend many touches. It should be observed that these classical allusions are almost exclusively confined to the Paschale Carmen; the prose work shows but scanty traces of the classical authors.

Quite in accordance with custom, Vergil appears more fre-

¹

Cf. Gaston Boissier, Rev. Phil. Vol. VI, p. 28, ff.

quently than all the other classic writers combined. The Paschale Carmen affords no instance of direct quotation of Vergil, the poet's name is never mentioned, but there are hundreds of passages in which a chance phrase will give the clue that Vergil was in the writer's mind. The same condition obtains in Sedulius that has been observed in many another ecclesiastical writer, that is, he knew Vergil so well that he uses his language without being conscious of deliberate quotation or imitation.

It has been pointed out that the classical traces are few in the prose work, a condition which might seem strange in view of the unstinted use made of the classics in the poem. It is, however, in this prose work that we encounter our solitary instance of direct quotation from Vergil in the whole body of Sedulius' work. He is here (Paschale Opus, Lib. I, 27) dealing with the glories of the kingdom of Heaven. He quotes Ecl. I, 26, Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa vivendi? Libertas, and adds that if a secular poet used such a phrase about an earthly city of a mortal kingdom, founded by mortal hands, how much rather ought we to believe in the existence of perpetual liberty in the city builded by the Lord God. Beyond this example, there is nothing in all of Sedulius that can be classed as a direct quotation of Vergil.

The Vergilian tradition in Sedulius is quite simple. He was, in his poetry at least, a direct heir of the best classical tradition. He had learned Vergil by heart, and hence had him always present and used him continually as a literary pattern. Indeed

the influence of Vergil on the poetry of the fifth century had brought it about that the poetry of that period is still classical in tone, while the prose, which ~~was~~ not subject to the same influence, had deviated widely from the classical norm.¹

This is admirably illustrated in the case of Sedulius. His poetry, because of its imitation of Vergil, has a free and uninterrupted flow, while his prose, which does not to the same extent partake of Vergilian influence, is clumsy and involved, and absolutely devoid of any classical flavor. Sedulius' use of Vergil is limited to this one literary phase. He never invokes him as an omniscient authority, he never appeals to him as prophet and seer, he is content, by conscientious study and imitation of the great model, to win to a style which has brought him the distinction of being one of the really significant Christian poets. s/

DRACONTIUS

As is the case with so many of the patristic writers, our knowledge of Dracontius is elicited mainly from his own works. From the subscriptio of one of his poems we learn that his full name was Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, that he lived in Carthage, and that he **held** official office in the proconsulate of Africa. His floruit is assigned to the latter part of the fifth century.

The works of Dracontius include a Christian didactic poem De Laudibus Dei in three books; the Satisfactio in which the

1

Cf. Gaston Boissier, Rev. Phil. Vol. VI, p. 34.

author seeks to win the favor of the Vandal emperor Gunthamund; a number of short epics--Hylas, De Raptu Helenae, Medea, two Epithalamia; and a number of what appear to be school exercises, such as Verba Herculis cum videret Hydrae serpentis capita pululare post caedes; Deliberativa Achillis an corpus Hectoris vendat; Controversia de statua viri fortis.

These poems are all noticeablely infected with the rhetorical taint prevalent at the time, yet they evince on the part of their author a greater share of true poetic instinct and literary ability than fell to the lot of most of the exponents of later African Latinity. His vocabulary is extensive, his language rich and full of poetic color. His meter does not far depart from the classical standards, but his prosody shows many of the licences which by the fifth century had come to be traditional, especially among the African writers. -8/

The works of Dracontius indicate that he possessed a very wide acquaintance with the classics, indeed the classical influence is predominant. He was not one of the perfervid variety of Christians; his Christianity sat very easily upon him. His didactic poem De Laudibus Dei is distinctively Christian in tone, but any of his other works might well have been composed by a pagan. The classical models which he followed are those dear to the teachers of rhetoric--Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Claudian. All of these played an important role, since Dracontius did not scruple to borrow from their works most liberally. 5/
The adaptations from Vergil make a most ^{impressive} important array, they

exceed in number those from any of the other poets mentioned. The Aeneid is used most often, but there are frequent echoes from the other works.

Dracontius apparently used Vergil as a source for language rather than ideas. Once, indeed, he refers to Vergil as having described the seige of Troy, and indicates that he was familiar not only with the story of the Aeneid, but with Vergil's place in literature. Far more frequently, however, he has employed Vergil, even in his Christian poem, as an aid to composition. Sometimes a whole line will be transplanted, sometimes the line will be adapted by changing a word or two. The greatest number of Vergilian phrases is found either at the beginning or at the end of the line, indicating that Dracontius experienced some difficulty in starting his verse, or having started it, felt the need of an apt phrase to round it off. Thus we find such opening phrases as quis furor iste novus, post varios casus, unde genus duco--to quote a few of the many examples. Similarly we find borrowed from Vergil concluding passages such as comitante caterva (which Vergil himself uses twice), paucis adverte docebo (also used twice by Vergil), mactabat ad aras and many others where Dracontius had sought to reproduce the cadence of the Vergilian verse by using Vergil's own words.

To sum up then Dracontius' use of Vergil, while most extensive, is nevertheless confined to what we may call the externals. He apparently did not regard him as a fountain-head

of wisdom, he is not concerned with the spiritual and mystical traditions of the poet, he uses him only sparingly as a text-book of history and mythology; his greatest debt is in the matter of language. Vergil had established himself as the one consummate artist in the shaping of the Latin hexameter, his verses were considered the perfect models of their kind, hence later poets sought painstakingly to imitate them. Dracontius, therefore, had endeavored to beautify and strengthen his own verse by adding Vergilian phrases at the two most vital parts of the line, viz. the beginning and the end. His use of Vergil, however, never goes beyond this external imitation.

PAULINUS OF PELLA

The roster of the minor poets of Christianity holds the name of another Paulinus, this time of Pella, in Macedonia, who was born about the year 376. His contribution to literature consists of an autobiographical poem in 616 hexameters, entitled Eucharisticos. The chief distinction of this poem is that it is one of the earliest examples in Christian poetry of purely subjective composition.. The language of the poem is rather over-burdened with rhetorical artifices, and there are many examples of licence in the prosody.

As for literary influences on Paulinus, the tale is soon told. Traces may be observed of the influence of Vergil, Ausonius, Iuvencus, Paulinus Nolanus and Sedulius; there are al-

so some passages which seem to be derived from Ovid. The significance of this list should be noted at once. The only old Roman poets who appear are Vergil and Ovid, and the only one who is used to any great extent is Vergil. Paulinus has given us the key to this in his description of his own education. He says (Euchar. 72 ff.):

"nec sero exacto primi mox tempora lustrī
dogmata Socratis et bellica plasmata Homeri
erroresque legens cognoscere cogor Ulixis;
protinus ad libros etiam transire Maronis
vix bene conperto iubeor sermone Latino."

The influence of Vergil on Paulinus, important as it is, is nevertheless restricted to one phase. He looked upon him exclusively as a great literary authority whose dicta must be accorded all possible deference. The impression of his boyhood training was very powerful, Vergil was one of the first writers whom he read, and his influence always remained. Paulinus borrows Vergil's language, he transfers whole phrases into his own work, he imitates him in every possible way. There is no reference in Paulinus to any other of Vergil's activities, he merely regarded him as the consummate literary artist whose style and manner are the unapproachable standard. It is highly significant for the permanence of the Vergilian tradition that late in the fifth century when scholarship was already perishing of inanition, Vergil was still studied in Macedonia, and his works accepted as a criterion. Hence it is that the poem of Paulinus which contains scarcely a hint of any other Latin writer of classic times, abounds in Vergilian reminiscence.

AVITUS AND PAULINUS PETRICORDIAE

Avitus, bishop of Vienne, belongs to the last quarter of the fifth century and the first quarter of the sixth. His literary work consists of a book of homilies which now exists only in fragments, about one hundred letters, and a number of poems, most of them on subjects from the Old Testament.

Paulinus Petricordiae, otherwise known as Paulinus of Périgueux was a contemporary of Apollinaris Sidonius, and flourished during the latter half of the fifth century. His contributions to literature consist of a long life of St. Martin of Tours done in hexameters, and two shorter poems.

These two writers are here considered together because the Vergilian tradition in both of them is of the same character. Both had used Vergil only as a literary model. They had adopted his method of beginning and ending the line, they had borrowed words and phrases, the works of both men are full of recollections of Vergil, some of them so close as to constitute actual identity of expression. Avitus mentions Vergil only once, and then it is to justify a disputed quantity; while in Paulinus the poet is never referred to, although there are dozens of instances where his language is reflected. In spite of the ruinous condition of literature at this time, this much of classical tradition had survived, that Vergil was still looked upon as the standard of excellence in poetic composition. It is in this light that Avitus and Paulinus regarded him--as the model which must be sedulously followed in writing hexameter verse.

ORIENTIUS

Among the didactic poems of Christian Latinity is the so-called Commonitorium from the pen of Orientius, a Gall⁶¹ writer. Certain internal evidence in the poem indicates that it was composed during the fifth century.¹ The Commonitorium is written in elegiac distichs, a measure much affected for moral instruction. The versification is, on the whole, rather good. The language suffers from the defects of the period, but it has more of the classical element than many of the contemporary writings.

It is in his imitations of ancient authors that Orientius is most in consonance with the literary spirit of his time. During the period of the decadence imitation of the classics was a well-established rhetorical principle. Orientius, as is evident from his work, had been nurtured in the rhetorical schools of the time; his imagination was largely influenced by the past. The classic authors who have left their impress on him are Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Lucretius, Martial, Catullus, and Juvenal. Of all these the greatest influence was that of Vergil. The imitations of Vergil are mostly from the *Aeneid*. For instance, Orientius has imitated the speech in which Dido says to Aeneas that her own misfortunes have taught her to sympathize with those of others. Orientius transposes this; he warns the reader to be on his guard against the sinful lures of

1

For a complete discussion of Orientius and his work, see L. Bellanger, *Le Poème d'Orientius*, (Paris and Toulouse, 1904).

the flesh, and then exclaims:

"Non ignarus enim miser succurrere tempto,
Omnia perpressus quae fugienda loquor."

He reproduces in its entirety the celebrated verse from Aeneid VI, 625: non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, which Vergil has applied to the torments of Hades, adapting it, however, to an outburst against the dangers of feminine beauty. The lines Poenam expectabunt clausi, ne quaere doceri/Quam poenam of Comm. II, 273, are taken with but slight changes from Aeneid VI, 614. Beside these large borrowings, the Commonitorium is full of little phrases taken from the master: invidia infelix; pestis acerba; mens conscia; dapibus vinoque sepultus; penitus toto orbe; and many others, which show that Orientius had made a careful and searching study of Vergil. Another trace of classical influence is seen in the fact that the Christian poet had made use of certain archaisms which had also been employed by Vergil. Archaisms were used by the patristic writers in a perfectly unconscious manner since they had been used by Vergil who was their standard and pattern. Hence, Orientius is merely catering to the taste of his period in using forms of expression which had for a long time existed only in Vergil or in those who had imitated him.

The influence of Vergil on Orientius lies in the realm of language rather than ideas. He had used him as a model for style, for composition, for versification, he had borrowed his language rather extensively, but there is little or no transfer of ideas from the pagan to the Christian poet. Vergil's name

is never mentioned, there is no reference to any other phase of the tradition of him. The academic tradition still continued, his works still held their places in the schools, and hence it is that the literary tradition is flourishing in Orientius, but of the other traditions which had become associated with the name of the great pagan poet we find no trace.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS

After learning had nearly disappeared in the other parts of the Roman Empire, it was for some time kept alive in Gaul through the efforts of a few pedantic scholars who constitute what has been called the Gallo-Roman school of literature. The most significant exponent of this school was C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, who was born at Lyons about 430. His works are in both prose and verse, they consist of 24 poems and 9 books of letters, some of which also contain poems. The poetical works vary between epic, elegiac, or hendecasyllabic meter. Their style has a certain factitious cleverness, and there is much tinsel decoration in the matter of phraseology. The love of exaggeration is evidenced by the fact that one of the poems in hendecasyllabics contains no less than 512 verses.

Sidonius shows very wide familiarity with the classics. The letters are full of imitations--many of them conscious--of Pliny and Symmachus. In the poems he imitates chiefly Statius, Claudian and Vergil, though there are some reminiscences of

1

Horace, Ovid, Ausonius, Plautus, Persius, Martial and Juvenal.

The influence of Vergil on Sidonius was so marked as to indicate that with regard to this poet the knowledge of Sidonius was most thorough. For example, we observe from Carm. III, 3, that Sidonius knew that the Georgics had been dedicated to Maecenas; while verse 4 indicates that he knew the Aeneid to have been composed after the Georgics. Vergil's name is mentioned several times coupled with laudatory expressions which show that Sidonius cherished for him the most profound respect. In Epist. V, 13, 3, he eulogizes Cicero and Vergil as the leaders in their respective fields of oratory and poetry. In Epist. V, 17, 1, in a passage deprecating some rather fulsome praise which had been heaped on him by a friend, he says: ceterum a iusto longe resultat, cum mihi assignas quae vix Maroni [vix] aut Homero competenter accomodaretur. In Epist IV, 21, 2, he calls Vergil maximus auctor, and in the same letter he testifies to his regard for the poet by the use of the affectionate noster in the phrase exemplum nostri Maronis. In Carm. VII, 497, he speaks of the civilizing influence of Vergil in the words docili quo prisca maronis/carmine mollebat Scythicos mihi pagina mores. There are in addition to these a number of other passages which show in a more covert fashion that Sidonius held Vergil in the very highest esteem.

The language of Sidonius shows frequent traces of the influence of Vergil. Sometimes we have formal quotations with

1

Cf. E. Geisler, De Apollinaris Sidonii Studiis, (Berlin Diss., 1885).

the author's name attached, sometimes mere verbal reminiscences which not infrequently amount to actual identity of expression. Sometimes the idea will be bodied forth in different phraseology, and yet the Vergilian background is plainly evident. The constant recurrence of such tags as o terque quaterque beatum; si parva licet componere magnis; experto credite and others of the kind show that Sidonius must have known Vergil by heart. Occasionally he changes the wording slightly, as in the well-known address to Tityrus in the first Eclogue, which appears in Sidonius Tityrus ut quondam patulae sub tegmine fagi.

Sidonius is indebted to Vergil for ideas, for information on general topics, no less than for linguistic embellishments. Thus he speaks of the proximity of Cremona to Mantua; of the perjury of Laomedon; of the silence of Amyclae; of Metabus and his daughter Camilla; of philomela and Procne--to mention a few of the most obvious cases--in a fashion which shows that his knowledge of these subjects was derived from Vergil.

An interesting commentary on the inflated rhetoric characteristic of the period is the artificial manner in which Sidonius refers to Vergil. He is seldom content to call him simply "Vergil", he feels it necessary to use some stilted circumlocution. For instance, he calls him "Publius Mantuanus", "Tityrus Mantuanus", "Mantuanus poeta" or "Mantuanus". Out of over twenty direct references to Vergil, only once does he call him Vergilius, all the other references are disguised in some very recondite phrase. Similar to this is his trick of referring to Cicero as "Arpinas", to Livy as "Patavinus", and to Ho-

race as "Calaber" or "Venusinus".

It has been remarked that the influence which Vergil exerts on any Christian writer is conditioned by the age in which the writer lives. Especially true is this of Sidonius. Living in a period which was satisfied with externals, a period whose scholarship was neither brilliant nor careful, Sidonius shows in his writing the influence of the spirit of his age. The schools of rhetoric still taught Vergil, but in a very mechanical manner. Aesthetic appreciation was largely abandoned, and his works were regarded as a store-house for tropes and figures. Hence it is that Sidonius relied upon Vergil for ornaments of style, for rhetorical embellishments, for decorative phrases. There is no reference to that spiritual nature which had caused the great Roman poet to be looked upon as one inspired by God, a prophet and seer; on the contrary Sidonius regarded his work rather as a rhetorical compilation, as a compendium of convenient phrases and apt allusions.

MAMERTUS CLAUDIANUS AND RURICIUS

Mamertus Claudianus and Ruricius were both intimate friends of Apollinaris Sidonius. The former is the author of one of the most important contributions to fifth century Christian philosophy, the De Statu Animae. The work was written in refutation of a letter by Faustus in which was asserted the principle that the soul, like all things created, was material in its substance. The treatise of Claudianus is a defence of the spiri-

tual nature of the soul, based largely on considerations of general philosophy. The style of the work is not remarkable for any scintillating originality, but it is mercifully free from the flowery rhetoric and jingling word-play of Sidonius, to whom the work is dedicated.¹

Vergil does not play a very prominent role in the writings of Claudianus; in the De Statu Animae his name is mentioned only once, and there are but four reminiscences of his works, three from the Aeneid and one from the Georgics. Three of these references ^{are} from part of the same argument. Claudianus, in protesting against the material theory of the soul, says that the size of the body is no indication of the size of the spirit, and evidences as examples the camel and the ant, where the intelligence is in inverse proportion to the bilk of the body. In this connection he quotes the lines from the Fourth Georgic relative to the bees:

"ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant."

A few lines farther on in the same discussion he quotes the Scriptural admonition "Go to the ant thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise", and then learnedly remarks that the "ways" refer not to the ant's manner of walking but rather to her wisdom of action. As a commentary on the passage he adduces the lines from the fourth book of the Aeneid where the activity of the Trojans in launching their ships and preparing for the voyage is likened to the bustling hurry of ants making ready

their supplies against the winter.

The other Vergilian phrases in Claudianus are adduced not as corroborative testimony but rather as stylistic ornaments; They are familiar extracts used to fill out a sentence. Vergil's name is attached to only one of these quotations. We may conjecture that Claudianus had in general a high opinion of Vergil since the word verissime appears in the phrase in which his name is invoked, but this is the only hint of his attitude toward Vergil.

Ruricius, the friend of Sidonius and of Mamertus Claudianus was bishop of Limoges. He is the author of a considerable body of correspondence, consisting of more than one hundred letters, some of which are so long as practically to constitute monographs. They deal with all manner of subjects, both secular and sacred, there are letters on spiritual matters, letters of introduction, business letters.

In these letters of Ruricius there occur but two quotations from Vergil. The first is in a letter of condolence written to two of his brother prelates. He says that he had several times undertaken a letter, but grief had prevented him from writing. He then quotes from Vergil's pathetic description of how Daedalus had attempted to carve his son's image, and had been overwhelmed by sorrow--bis patriae cecidere manus. The second instance of direct quotation contains one of those couplings of sacred and secular authorities to which the patristic writers were so much addicted. He is here urging a friend

to visit him, and to the Vergilian phrase vicit iter durum pietas he adds the familiar statement of the Evangelist caritas omnia sustinet.

In Claudianus and Ruricius the Vergilian tradition shows marked attenuation, although Vergil appears as a general authority no less than as a literary model. Why these two writers had used Vergil so little is a puzzling question. Apollinaris Sidonius, their friend, had used Vergil freely, but it should be remembered that he is superlatively rhetorical, and that most of the Vergilianisms in his work serve the purpose of stylistic ornamentation. Claudianus and Ruricius, on the other hand, are more concerned with content than with form; hence only occasionally would the hereditary authority of Vergil's name cause his words to be quoted. The changing taste of the times had elevated other writers to the position of criteria, and in proportion as the authority of these others was sought, that of Vergil pari passu declined. As scholarship dwindled, the tradition of Vergil's authority weakened, just enough of it was inherited to make it possible for the great poet to be quoted for purposes of illustration.

LUXORIUS, MAVORTIUS AND CORONATUS

During the opening years of the sixth century in the reign of the Vandal king Thrasamund, there existed in Africa a school of obscure minor poets who were distinguished chiefly for their poverty of inspiration and their superficiality of conception. Most of the activity of these mn̄n was in the field of cento writing. Thus we find attributed to one Luxorius, in addition

to some 89 epigrams in the style of Martial, an epithalamium on the marriage of Fridus. This last is a Vergilian cento, and exhibits all the tasteless lack of originality characteristic¹ of these productions.

The writing of Vergilian centos was an amusement which recommended itself alike to pagans and Christians. Sometimes the same person would fabricate centos on both secular and sacred subjects. Thus in the Codex Salmasianus we find under the name of Mavortius two Vergilian centos, one on the judgment of Paris, the other on the church. Of these the De Ecclesia is by far the longer. It is a sort of sermon in which are set forth the birth of Christ, His crucifixion, descent into Hell and resurrection, and finally His return for the last judgment. At the end of the piece is a supplement in six verses which Mavortius improvised when, after the recitation of the cento, he had been greeted with the name of Maro iunior.

As a sort of rhetorical sequel to these centos, we have from the hand of the grammarian Coronatus, a friend of Luxorius, a series of variations on a Vergilian theme. He has taken the line Vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco (Aen. III, 315) and elaborated it into thirty hexameters, in which he rings all the possible changes on the idea. The production is interesting only as an example of the labored exercises of the schools.

The writings of the three authors here considered to-

¹

Cf. F. Ermini, *Il Cento di Proba e la Poesia Centonaria Latina*, p. 49.

gether offer very good evidence of the attenuation of the Vergilian tradition in Africa in the sixth century. In the early days of patristic literature in Africa, the church writers still preserved many points of contact with Roman classical tradition. In the case of Tertullian there were observed many instances where not only the words but the ideas had a Vergilian background, while Augustine, the most classical of the ecclesiastical writers, shows us the Vergilian tradition in the fine flower of its fullest development. After this, however, the retrogression was extremely rapid, new influences made themselves felt, the old classical learning fell into disrepute. It is true that Vergil was still studied in the schools, but his works were used not as a store-house for ideas, but as a source for tropes and figures, as a mine of phrases which could be patched together into a cento.

ENNODIUS

Magnus Felix Ennodius (473--521) bishop of Pavia in the reign of Theodoric, is a representative of that later school of literature which attempted to effect a rapprochement between the old profane writings and the more recent productions of the church fathers. His work is in both prose and verse; it consists of a mass of letters, a number of dictiones, and many poems in a variety of meters. In these, as in other writings of the time, the greatest care was lavished upon the form, the content was of subsidiary importance.

Ennodius, however, shows most patently that he was well

acquainted with the old Latin authors. The classical tradition had continued in Italy and Gaul so that the pagan classics were still used in the schools, but as was characteristic of the cursory and superficial attitude of the time, more attention was given to the letter than to the spirit. Thus Ennodius shows familiarity with Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Cicero--the regular stock in trade of the professors of rhetoric--and to a less extent with Sallust, Lucan, Tibullus. In his following of the classical models he prizes Cicero for the depth of his thought and the fire of his eloquence, Sallust for the compactness and refinement of his style, and Vergil for the consummation and sublimation of all the qualities which make for greatness in an author.¹ These three authors form in his mind a sort of literary triumvirate, they sum up in themselves all those qualities which must be studied and imitated by all who seek to attain distinction in literature. Of these Vergil is the chief model; he is cited and imitated more frequently than all the other sources combined.

The influence of Vergil makes itself felt all through the works of Ennodius. In his letters, in his religious disputations, in his poems, whether the subject be sacred or not, there are frequent indications that he knew Vergil well. He had even imbibed enough of the classical training openly to avow his admiration for the master poet. Thus in a letter to Avienus (Epist. I, 18) he speaks of Vergil as Doctorum radix Maro, ves-

¹

Cf. A. Dubois, *La Latinité d'Ennodius* (Paris 1903), p. 54.

tri formator eloquii, recognizing in this way the debt which the students of oratory owe to Vergil. Another interesting manifestation of the reverence with which he regarded the great poet is to be seen in some of his poems. The poems numbered 118 to 122 inclusive of the second book (Hartel's edition) are a series of epigrams de quodam stulto qui Virgilius dicebatur in which Ennodius objects vigorously to the disgracing of the noble name of Vergil by this stultus. Thus he says (No. 119),

"Si fatuo dabitur tam sanctum nomen homullo
Gloria maiorum curret in obprobrium."

And again in number 122 with the love for punning characteristic of the cloister humorist he says,

"Cur te Virgilius mentiris pessime nostrum?
Non potes esse Maro, sed potes esse moro."

Here we have a sufficient indication that in the estimation of Ennodius, Vergil was worthy of all respect and honor.

There is in Ennodius quite a considerable number of direct quotations from Vergil, but these are all on some subject of general or literary interest, there is no attempt to enlist Vergil's support in favor of any distinctively Christian doctrine or any point of technical theology. Thus, in speaking of the joy which one feels in returning to his native country after an absence, he remarks that Vergil has told how the swans rejoiced in their freedom, referring to the picture in the first book of the Aeneid. There are in addition several direct citations from Vergil, introduced without either reference or author's name. Sometimes these quotations are indirect, that is to say, the word order will be changed, or one or two words altered.

Much more numerous than the direct quotations are the little phrases which constitute imitations rather than real citations. The number of these is very great; they are used in the prose as well as in the poetry, they appear in the letters no less than in the declamations. Sometimes they will consist in a Vergilian metaphor clothed in words but slightly different from the original, sometimes merely one or two words will give the clue to the Vergilian origin.

Ennodius was far from confining himself to any one work of Vergil; his writings show recollections from every book of the *Aeneid*, all of the *Georgics*, nearly all of the *Eclogues*, and two of the poems from the *Appendix*. These echoes are most numerous in the poems, but they can also be found in considerable numbers in the prose works. The number of citations and reminiscences shows that Ennodius possessed a knowledge and an understanding of Vergil quite remarkable for the age in which he lived.

The classical culture had endured for a much longer time in Italy and Gaul than in some of the more remote provinces such as Africa. This is but natural, considering that the Italian and Gallic peoples were closer to the fountain-head than were the Africans. Be this as it may, even after Italy had been over-run by the barbarians, the tradition of culture was for some time kept alive in the schools. Vergil and the other ancient writers were still the standard, though they were regarded in a more superficial manner than they had been formerly. The professors of rhetoric began to think of Vergil less as an embodiment of wisdom, and more as a source for tropes and figures.

It is somewhat after this fashion that Ennodius uses him. It is true that he draws from Vergil some small amount of information on topics of general interest, but his chief use of him may be referred to words rather than to ideas. Thus we find no instance of the invoking of Vergil's authority on matters of religious import, there is no reference to him as prophet or as Christian without Christ, he is looked upon as a sort of super-schoolmaster--doctorum radix Maro.

SALVIANUS

One of the most prolific moralists of the fifth century was Salvianus, a presbyter of Marseilles. His writings include four books Ad Ecclesiam; the De Gubernatione Dei in eight books, and a few letters. These works are of interest chiefly as commentaries on the philosophy of the moralists of the day. The style is rather vigorous, but shows the love for hyperbolic expressions characteristic of the time.

Salvianus, however, gives evidence of rather wide cultural training for his day. Compared to some of his predecessors in the department of ecclesiastical Latin his learning is hardly impressive, but his scholarship is not inconsiderable for his period. The classical authors who have influenced his work are Vergil, Terence, Cicero and Livy, but the influence of none of these is extensive. He had drawn heavily upon Lactantius for his subject matter, and had derived from the same source nearly all of his scanty quotations from the classic writers.

The influence of Vergil upon Salvianus is but slight; it

is in fact confined to one passage. In the early part of the De Gubernatione Dei he is discussing the unity of God, and quotes the passage from Georgics IV, 221, ff., deum namque ire per omnis/terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum. It might be remarked here that this particular passage of Vergil had always been a favorite with the patristic writers in treating of the unity of God; it had previously been used by Minucius Felix and by Lactantius, from the latter of whom Salvianus undoubtedly cited it. Interesting is the way in which he speaks of Vergil in introducing this quotation. He says, illud mysticae auctoritatis exemplum, quo se non minus philosophum Maro probare voluit quam poetam. (De Guber. Dei I, 4). In this, the only Vergilian quotation in his work, he has sufficiently summed up his opinion on Vergil. He considers him not as a great literary model, not as the master author who had settled for all time the usages of language; on the contrary he looks upon him as an authority on philosophical questions, as an arbiter on points of faith. It is true that Salvianus used Vergil but little, but the phase of the Vergilian tradition which appears, tenuous though it may be, is absolutely typical of the period. Vergil's prestige as a literary figure was waning as the study of literature waned, his image was becoming more definitely that of the sage, the mystic; the way was being prepared for the allegorical interpretation to be found in Fulgentius. Vergil as a literary figure is overshadowed by Vergil as a religious authority and philosopher, the thinker had taken the place of the poet. The great cultural movement which had brought

about the literary conception of Vergil was dying out; its decline may be admirably traced in the writings of Salvianus by observing the concomitant decline of the Vergilian tradition.

FABIUS PLANCIADES FULGENTIUS

Interesting as the exponent of a new school of Vergilian interpretation is Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, a sixth century writer of Carthage. He was the author of four works, Mitologiarum libri III, a series of highly fanciful explanations of legends and names; Virgiliana Continentia, a mystical explanation of the contents of the Aeneid; De Aetatibus Mundi, a sort of universal history; and finally Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum, a work in which he supplies the defects in his own scholarship by inventing quotations to fit the subjects under discussion.

The diction of Fulgentius is the tortuous involved variety so much cultivated in the sixth century. His style is a notable example of Africitas; what Jerome called stridor Punicae linguae may be heard in every line of it. A strange farrago of influences helped to mold this style; it is imitated from Tertullian and from Apuleius; Petronius was the model in some cases; there are even mannerisms adapted from Martianus Capella. Obscurity is the rule with him; his meaning is so carefully concealed that only with difficulty and perseverance does the reader eventually succeed in determining what the sense of the passage is.

By far the most important of Fulgentius' works for our purposes is the Virgiliana Continentia. This remarkable production offers the first example of detailed allegorical inter-

pretation by a Christian. Allegory was no new thing to the ancients, especially in their interpretation of the poets, since practically the only written digest of the pagan faith was to be found in the works of the poets who had sung of the gods and heroes. Hence it is that allegorical interpretations had been made of Homer and Hesiod, since their works were regarded as religious text-books. Vergil, however, escaped this application of allegory for some time. One factor in this was his modernity, it was harder to engraft such artificialities upon a modern work. We have seen that he early acquired great authority in different departments of human knowledge, and this authority varied according to the particular specialty of the person reading him. Seneca informs us (Epist. 108, 24, ff.) that the grammarians looked upon Vergil as a grammarian, the philosophers as a philosopher; but in Seneca's day we find no trace of allegorical interpretation. In course of time, however, as intellectual pursuits declined, and the emphasis in scholarship was laid on the superficial, Vergil was obliged to yield up his share of allegory. This ensued partly because allegory was fashionable, partly because to the pseudo-scholars of the decadence it was inconceivable that a man of such mighty intellect as Vergil had been content to tell a story for the sake of the story, and had not concealed somewhere within it something occult and recondite.

The traces of this allegorical interpretation in pagan literature are chiefly in Donatus, Servius, and Macrobius. The statement of Donatus is preserved by Servius (Proem. to the Eclogues, Vol. III, p. 3, Thilo), "Donatus says...that in writ-

ing his poems, Vergil followed the order of nature; first the life of men was of a pastoral character, after that came the love of agriculture, and then the desire for wars." As for Servius himself, he does lend a philosophical tinge to some parts of his commentary, but there is no evidence in his work of a consistent attempt at allegorical interpretation of Vergil.

Macrobius furnished the only example save the commentaries of a work which professedly deals with Vergil. His writing is pervaded with enthusiastic eulogy and extravagant admiration; he will not admit that there are in Vergil any errors or lapses; the supposed difficulties exist only in the minds of students who are mentally ill-equipped. Macrobius strives valiantly to spade up all the vast accumulation of learning hidden away in Vergil's poems; for him Vergil is the embodiment of all knowledge and all wisdom. His treatment of Vergil is tinged with allegory; but it is not exclusively allegorical; the chief emphasis is laid on the prestige and authority of Vergil; the tendency to weave allegories is confined to separate passages; it does not include the whole extent of Vergil's work.¹

The most striking example of the allegorical view of Vergil, the earliest, indeed, in Christian literature, is the Virgiliana Continentia of Fulgentius. This bizarre work is an excellent commentary on mediaeval scholarship and philosophy; it is also of value as a characteristic epitome of the Christian

1

Cf. S. T. Collins, *The Interpretation of Vergil with Special Reference to Macrobius*, (Oxford 1909); Comapretti, pp. 63-69.

attitude toward Vergil during the sere and locust-eaten years of the decline of learning. In the early part of this work the author makes plain that he will confine his attention to the Aeneid, because the Eclogues and Georgics contain such esoteric mystic lore that it passes his poor wit to expound them. According to Fulgentius, in the first three eclogues phisice trium vitarum reddidit continentiam; in the fourth he takes up the art of divination; in the fifth he points out the observances of the priesthood; in the sixth he treats of the art of music, and part of the same eclogue he discusses natural philosophy according to the Stoic system; in the seventh he touches upon botany; in the eighth he treats of the influence of music and of magic, in the last part he expounds the prognostic art, and in the ninth eclogue he continues this. What the mystic significance of the tenth eclogue is, is not brought out. The contents of the Georgics is quite as remarkable. The first Georgic really deals with astrology, the second with physiognomy and medicine, the third with augury, the fourth with music.

v having thus defined the limits of his research, Fulgentius bursts out into fine hexameters in which he invokes the Muses, --not one Muse, that would not suffice for him--but all of them. Thanks to the intervention of the Muses, the shade of Vergil consents to visit him. The appearance of this spectre is mosr impressive, as befits a philosopher deep in thought. With a humility quite suitable to a pupil in the presence of his master, Fulgentius begs him to expound the lessons hidden in his poems, not the deeply mysterious ones, but only such as his

poor mortal intellect could grasp. This Vergil consents to do, impressing his disciple all the time with a sense of the vast gulf between them by assuming a devastating frown, and addressing him as homuncule.

Vergil then explains that in the twelve books of his Aeneid he purposed to present a panorama of human life. In his detailed discussion of this he pauses for a condigerable period over the first line, and only after several digressions does he elucidate the implications of the three words arma, virum and primus. Human life, according to this view, is divided into three stages, the first is acquiring, habere; the second is regulating and keeping what we have acquired regere; the third is adorning what we keep, ornare. These three stages are found in the first line of the Aeneid, arma, valor, relates to the physical, virum, wisdom, relates to the intellectual; primus, prince (princeps) relates to the aesthetis, the artistic. In this way appears the proper order of getting, keeping, and adorning. So has been symbolized under the guise of a narrative the complete course of human existence, first nature, then knowledge, then happiness. With a little farther development of this same theme, Vergil finishes his preface, antilogium, and proceeds to a discussion of the general trend of his work. But first, in order to assure himself that he is not speaking to profane ears, and as a means of determining whether his auditor has read the Aeneid, Vergil requires him to give a synopsis of the first book. This, without resentment at the arrogant tone, Fulgentius proceeds to do.

Thereupon Vergil continues his amazing revelations. The ship-wreck of Aeneas typifies the perils of child-birth, where both mother and child are subject to danger. A further evidence of this is the fact that the ship-wreck is brought about by Juno, the goddess of child-birth. Aeolus, through whose agency the storm is loosed, signifies perdition for the Greek ¹eonolus (sic) signifies destruction. As a reward for his services, Aeolus is promised Deliopea for a wife; now in Greek demos signifies the people, and iopa sight or vision, therefore danger is experienced by all who are born in the world. Aeneas escapes with seven ships, by which is indicated that the number seven was the auspicious number for child-birth. As soon as he had landed, Aeneas saw his mother, but failed to recognize her, the symbolism of which is that the new-born infants are unable to recognize their parents, even though they have the power of sight. After this, from the surrounding cloud, Aeneas sees his friends, but is unable to converse with them, an allegory of the infant who has the ability of recognizing people, but has not yet developed the power of speech. The faithful Achates to whom Aeneas attaches himself symbolizes the troubles which every one must bear from his infancy, since Achates is equivalent to the Greek acone-tos, that is, familiarity with sorrow. Aeneas gazing upon the pictures in the temple typifies the simple mind of the child which is satisfied with mere outward show. The song of Iopas

1

In all of these strange etymologies I have faithfully reproduced Fulgentius' transliteration and spelling of the Greek, according to the edition of Halm (Leipzig, 1898).

is emblematic of the song wherewith the nurse soothes the child, for Iopas is the Greek siopas, the silence which the child preserves while the nurse is singing to him.

The second and third books relate to childhood with its love of the wonderful. The Cyclops in book three symbolizes foolish arrogance, conquered by Ulysses, who is good sense. The death and burial of Anchises typify the termination of the period of childhood when the adolescent youth rejects paternal authority. Freed from parental restraint the man (Book IV) gives himself up to the delights of the chase and of love; he is overwhelmed by his passions, represented by the storm; he enters upon an illicit amour, typified by the Dido incident. Yielding himself up to this, he is eventually warned by the intelligence, represented by Mercury, when he abandons his base passion, which being forgotten flickers away to ashes, represented by the death and funeral pyre of Dido. Inspired by the memory of his father (Book V) he devotes himself to manly pursuits, represented by the funeral games of Anchises. The boxing match between Entellus and Dares signifies the pursuit of truth. The burning of the ships symbolizes the action of the reasoning mind in rising superior to material considerations and destroying the means of further wandering.

In the sixth book he comes to the temple of Apollo and descends to the lower regions, where Apollo represents the god of the mind. First he is freed from false opinion, typified by the loss of Palinurus (Palinurus enim quasi planonorus, id est errabunda visio) and from vain glory, symbolized in the burial

of Misenus, for misio in Greek means hate, and enos means praise. Thus purified he procures the golden bough which is the wisdom which lays open all hidden knowledge, and undertakes philosophical studies, i. e. the descent into Hades. Vergil here refers to the ancient legend that his mother had dreamed of having given birth to a bough, and establishes this as the reason for making the golden bough play such a prominent role. On entering the lower regions the young man sees first the cares of life. Then led by Charon, who is time, he crosses the boiling tide of youth (Acheron), and hears the dissensions of men (the barking of Cerberus) which are soothed and quieted by the honey of wisdom (the sop to Cerberus). In the lower world he sees Dido, typifying the remembrance of youthful folly; and comes to a knowledge of good and evil, represented by the punishments inflicted upon wrong doers. He enters the Elysian fields, symbolizing the freedom of life after the regulations imposed in childhood by those in authority, and sees his father Anchises, and the river Lethe, the first representing the dignity of manhood, the second the forgetting of youthful folly.

In the seventh book he frees himself from all supervision, (burial of the nurse Caieta) and reaches Ausonia, that is, increase of good, for which the desires of all men are eager, and seeks as his wife Lavinia, that is, the path of labor. In book eight he seeks the help of Euander, for Euander in Greek signifies "good man", and from him learns of the conquest of virtue over vice, represented by the story of Hercules and Cacus. In the remaining four books Aeneas girds himself with all the Roman

145

virtues (the arms of Vulcan), and joins battle with Turnus (anger) whose allies are Mezentius (impiety), Messapus (folly), Iturna (obstinacy), and Metiscus, (drunkenness). Finally Wisdom and Virtue are triumphant.

The whole of this work of Fulgentius is a distorted product of misapplied industry. It is loaded with the wildest of etymologies, of which those quoted are typical examples. In one passage the author wanders so far from actualities as to make Vergil quote Petronius. There is no order or balance in the arrangement of material, several pages are devoted to the elucidation of a few phrases, while whole books are passed over in a few words. Not infrequently the course of the exposition is broken by long digressions; in one place the argument becomes so confused that Vergil is made to speak as though he were Fulgentius. It is noteworthy that most detail is lavished upon the sixth book, in conformity with the superstition that this book contained more hidden wisdom than any other. Servius had given expression to this view in the note prefixed to the sixth book, "All Vergil is full of wisdom, in which this book, a large part of which is taken from Homer, holds the chief place. In it there are some things stated simply, many are taken from history, and many others through the profound sciences of Egyptian philosophy and theology, so that several people have written whole dissertations on individual passages in it."

Fulgentius seems to have had no ulterior motive in composing this treatise, he was apparently actuated by a desire merely to give publicity to his unearthly knowledge. There is nothing of

the controversial about his work; its purpose was purely moral and philosophical. He was evidently interested in the betterment of the human race, and hence wished to guide men along the thorny path of life by offering salutary advice. There is very little real Christian spirit in the Virgiliana Continentia; the work might well have been composed by any pagan philosopher who had grasped the fundamental truth of the power of wisdom.

The Virgiliana Continentia is the only work of Fulgentius which is devoted exclusively to Vergil, but his other works also show marked traces of the Vergilian influence. So, for instance, Vergil is quoted as an authority for the statement that Erichthonius invented the four-horse chariot race. On the subject of the unity of God there is quoted the passage, so popular with the patristic writers,

"Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra" (Aen. VI, 724)

The well-worn opening lines of the Fourth Eclogue are also quoted as an indication of Vergil's omniscience. There are, beside these, many ~~recollections~~ ¹ and phrases from Vergil's works.

It is characteristic of Fulgentius that his memory frequently betrays him, causing him to impute to various authors statements which cannot be found in their works. For example, he says that Vergil has spoken of three Harpies, whereas Vergil

1

For a complete list of the citations in Fulgentius, see M. Zink, *Der Mytholog Fulgentius* (Wurzburg 1867), Part II, p. 64, ff.

has not made any definite statement about their number. Similarly he assigns to the ninth eclogue a phrase which is found in the first. His quotations often show variations from the accepted form, a fact which may have arisen either through lapse of memory or from a faulty text. None of the Vergilian quotations is adduced with any polemic purpose. Fulgentius may have been a devout Christian, but there is nowhere in his work a hint of the constant rivalry between pagan and Christian of which we are conscious in the writings of men like Jerome. Jerome felt it necessary to apologize for reading the classics, as did also Augustine; neither was willing to avow that a man could study the pagan authors without some deleterious effect upon his Christianity. In Fulgentius a quite different spirit shows itself; he very evidently composed his works from an ethical and philosophical point of view. In the Mitologiae, an earlier work, he is obviously attempting to justify the old mythology from a stand-point not of Christianity, but of pure philosophy. Similarly, in the Virgiliana Continentia, which might be supposed to be a piece of controversial writing to advance the cause of Christianity, there is no evidence of any strong Christian spirit, the stress is all on the philosophical side of the subject. A connection may be traced between the Mitologiae and the Virgiliana Continentia in that the former work deals with the philosophical aspect of ancient thought in general, and the latter treats specifically of the omniscient intellect of Vergil. Fulgentius is essentially a product of the schools of philosophy and rhetoric of his time; the fact of his being a Christian is

purely incidental, and has no direct bearing on his work.

The Vergil of Fulgentius is quite different in his delineation from that of any other Christian writer heretofore considered. The early biographers of Vergil have represented him as a genial person, modest and retiring, dear to his friends, and shunning publicity. The Vergil of Fulgentius, on the other hand, is a haughty, cold, and arrogant spirit, a mystic, possessing a vast fund of weird and unholy knowledge. Here we have the first indication of the regular mediaeval type of wise man, who in his demeanor and character partakes of the darkness in which all knowledge is shrouded. Learning has become so rare that its possession was an occult attribute; the scholar was not to be distinguished from the warlock who held unholy communion with spirits, and gained his wisdom through his control over the mysterious forces of nature.

And yet, in spite of the fact that there is in Fulgentius no dominant tone of Christianity, we see in him a hint of the doctrine that Vergil was a Christian without Christ, or at least that he approached in his philosophy very closely to the Christian ideal. Thus, Fulgentius makes ~~a~~ statement which is not in accord with even Fulgentius' somewhat latitudinarian ideas of religion, whereupon the latter expresses his amazement that one who had given evidence of the possession of great enlightenment in writing Iam redit et virgo etc., could nevertheless be guilty of errors. To this Vergil answers with a smile, "If among these Stoic truths I had not added some Epicurean error, I should not

have been a pagan; for to know the whole truth is given to none save to you for whom has shone the sun of truth."

The Vergil of Fulgentius may be considered a logical development of tendencies which have been noticed as existing elsewhere in the Christian writers. The very earliest of the patristic authors looked upon Vergil primarily as a literary figure; the classical age was then too near for them to do otherwise. After this the tradition gradually developed; Vergil was esteemed an authority on questions of all sorts. This culminated in writing of the type of Macrobius, where the most extraordinary powers are claimed for Vergil. The Vergil of Fulgentius is really no more than the logical extension of the same view with the superimposition of the mystic elements demanded by the taste of the period. t/

In Fulgentius, then, we have every phase of the Vergilian tradition save one; the only thing lacking is the presentation of Vergil as a magician. We have Vergil as a literary master, as an authority on all matters of learning, as a universal and omniscient genius who had concealed in his books vast stores of occult wisdom. We see him in the guise of a profound speculative philosopher who has in his books pointed the way to a proper conduct of life. This, by the way, seems to be a foreshadowing of the quality in which he later appears as a benevolent wizard, protecting people from the visitations of plagues and the inroads of enemies. He also plays in Fulgentius a weighty rôle as Messianic prophet and as Christian without Christ, although,

as elsewhere pointed out, the Christian element is subordinated to the philosophical. Vergil has in Fulgentius much of the shadowy quality of the magician, but there is no direct mention of this phase of his activity. The conception of him as the mystic possessor of strange wisdom gives a hint of the magical tradition, but the definite foemulation and statement of this as a part of the legend of Vergil is reserved for a later period. In other respects, however, the Vergilian tradition in Fulgentius is a development of all the tendencies earlier noted with such colors and shadings as the mediaeval mind could suggest.

CASSIODORUS

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator was born at Scyllacium (Squillace) about the year 480. He belonged to a distinguished family of which three generations had held high office in the state. It might be well to explain at this point that Senator was part of the original name of Cassiodorus, and was not acquired by him through holding a seat in the Roman Senate. Largely because of his father's influence, Cassiodorus made his entry into public life as a consiliarius or assessor. After this he held various other offices, and in 514 received the rather hollow honor of the consulship. He was assiduous in his labors on behalf of the state, and eventually in 533 he was raised to the exalted rank of Praetorian Prefect, the highest which any subject could occupy. Some five or six years later he retired from public life and devoted himself to the cultivation of literature. This sort of pursuit could flourish best in a cloister,

so he retired to his native town, and there founded two monasteries, one for the austere and ascetic hermit, the other for the less rigorous minded recluse. The great value of the work of Cassiodorus lies in the fact that he utilized the extensive leisure of the cloister for the cultivation of learning and for its dissemination through the labors of the copyists. Indeed, many of the ancient authors now extant survive directly or indirectly through copies made in the monastery of Cassiodorus.

Cassiodorus lived to a great age, and his literary activity continued through most of his lifetime. His works include a chronicle founded on the works of Eusebius and Prosper; a Gothic History which has perished; Institutiones Divinarum Litterarum, a sort of compendium of useful information; the Historia Tripartita, an arrangement of Epiphanius' translation of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; a number of grammatical works, and the celebrated Variae, a large collection of letters written by Cassiodorus for the Emperor Theodoric as well as for other eminent personages who were incapable of writing letters for themselves.

Cassiodorus was not an original genius like his contemporary Boethius; his was not one of the great constructive imaginations; he was essentially a statesman, a man of action. The manifold occupations of his earlier years tended to prevent, through lack of leisure, the practice and exercise necessary to develop a literary style. His language suffers from all the faults of the time; it is involved, prolix, and difficult to a degree. He had the spirit of the compiler rather than that of

the creative artist; he was an indefatigable worker, his labors in the service of education have been of immense value, but he was handicapped by the lack of a sense of humor, the possession of which would have prevented him from making Theodoric say some of the things attributed to him in the Variae.

The academic training of Cassiodorus seems to have been rather good; at any rate it was sufficiently broad for him to urge the study of the pagan classics on the monks in his cloister. Thus in the Divinae Lectiones Chap. 28, he advises his monks to devote themselves zealously to the study of the seven arts, and by way of encouragement holds up the example of Moses, who was learned in the lore of the Egyptians, and also the example of the "Holy Fathers, who did not consider that the study of the profane writers should be rejected, but were themselves examples to the contrary, showing themselves most skilful in such studies, as one may see in the cases of Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Augustine, and many others. And who could hesitate in the face of such illustrious examples?"

Cassiodorus seems to have had a good general knowledge of Vergil; he quotes him several times for ideas, and there are numerous instances where his language is colored by that of the poet. He had no scruple in employing mythology in his writings, and no small part of his knowledge on this subject is derived from Vergil. Thus, for instance, he follows Vergil's description of the Elysian Fields and the Blessed Groves. Frequently Vergil is quoted in an illustrative passage. Thus in a letter recommending the pursuit of learning, he declares that studies



are absolutiones hominum....vincla causarum....carcer furoris, and then, apparently to illustrate this last point, quotes Vergil's picture from the first book of the Aeneid where Furor is described bound in his dungeon. In another passage he is describing the combats with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, and says that there are as many perilous forms of encounter as Vergil described varieties of crime and punishment in Tartarus, and follows a partial quotation of the lines (Aen. VI, 625 ff.) where Vergil says that even if he had a hundred mouths and a hundred tongues, still would he ye unable to describe all these things. In another place, speaking of the brother of an official who had died, Cassiodorus expresses the hope that in the words of Vergil, this bough on the family tree would be found as goodly as that one which had been lost; then follows a quotation from the golden bough passage in which is set forth how, as soon as one bough was torn off, another would at once grow in its place. That Vergil is esteemed a universal authority appears from a passage where in speaking of the products of Rhegium, Cassiodorus says that contrary to the opinion of Vergil, the root of the endive as grown there is not bitter, but of a distinctly sweet flavor. Another interesting quotation from Vergil is to be found in a hortatory passage in the De Institutione, where Cassiodorus eulogizes the life of the literary monk, and urges the brethren of slower wit to devote their attention to cultivating the soil. He begins by remarking piously that we ought to strive, God willing, to perfect ourselves in learning, it is an attainment that nothing can take away. But is any of the brothers is in the

case referred to by Vergil,

"Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis"

so that he cannot attain to any distinction in learning, either sacred or profane, but is inflamed with a zeal for other pursuits, let him choose what he would follow,

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes."

He then proceeds to say that after all it is by no means foreign to the character of a monk to care for the gardens and labor in the fields, for in the one hundred and twenty-eighth Psalm we read, "For thou shalt eat the labour of thy hands, happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee." This coupling of sacred and profane sources is typical of Cassiodorus' love for learning and of the generous way in which he treated the classical authors.

To summarize, Cassiodorus employs Vergil in a rather wide fashion. He quotes him as a source for mythology, for literature, for general knowledge, he refers with respect to his opinions on gardening, he quotes Vergilian tags to point morals and adorn tales. These quotations are all of general application, they are not adduced in a proselytizing spirit. Cassiodorus does quote Vergil and the Bible in the same breath, but he does not use Vergil's words to support Christian doctrines. Vergil's mystical attributes never appear in Cassiodorus, probably because the latter was not of a mystical turn of mind. He employed Vergil only as a scholarly man would, to furnish him with ideas and with striking phrases.

BOETHIUS

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, of the distinguished Praenestine family of the Anicii, was born in Rome about the year 480. Left an orphan at an early age, he was reared by Symmachus, whose daughter he afterward married. He early seemed marked for a distinguished career. In 510 he was elected consul, enjoyed for a while the favor of the emperor Theodoric, and numbered among his familiars some of the most celebrated men of his time, including Cassiodorus and Ennodius. From this high estate his fall was sudden and complete. He was accused of plotting against the Emperor, was condemned without a hearing, and was for some time imprisoned at Pavia. After a considerable period of incarceration he was in the year 525 put to death with every circumstance of revolting cruelty.

Boethius is of great importance not only for the history of literature but also for the history of scholarship. His intellect was gigantic, his industry indefatigable, his learning encyclopaedic. He had set himself the task of transmuting into Latin the philosophy of Plato and of Aristotle, and of demonstrating the relation between their views. This task he never completed--no single human mind could compass such a labor--but his writings became the text-books of the middle ages, and the mediæval scholars owed to him the greater part of their profane learning. He translated into Latin Aristotle's De Interpretatione, and wrote a double commentary on it; he wrote a similar

double commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyry; composed the De Institutione Arithmetica, De Institutione Musica; Ars Grammatica; a number of purely religious pieces such as De Trinitate, Contra Eutychen et Nestorium, De Fide Catholica, and last and most celebrated of all the De Consolatione Philosophiae. This work, which he composed in his dungeon, exercised a most powerful influence upon mediaeval thought, it was during a large part of the middle ages more widely read than any other treatise on philosophy. The book has had a number of distinguished translators, including King Alfred and Geoffrey Chaucer.

The style of Boethius, especially in the last named work, is notable for its classical purity. No other writer of his time could match him in vigor of expression or clarity of thought. The De Consolatione is the noblest literary product of moribund antiquity; it is often spoken of as the last piece of Latin to which clings any of the classical savor. Boethius' vision was directed backward to the classical age, so much of whose spirit he had imbibed; he has been well named ultimus Romanorum.

As might be imagined, the classical writers contributed largely to the original work of Boethius. Time and again he refers to Plato and Aristotle, Cicero served him as a model for style and a source for ideas, Seneca was constantly used by him. The influence of Vergil was by no means so well marked as was that of the philosophical writers just mentioned. In the early theological writing there is no reference to Vergil, no mention of him. In his commentary on Aristotle, however, Vergil is fre-

quently quoted, and his name is referred to several times without quotation. Thus, in a discussion of the effect of word arrangement on sound, he quotes pacique imponere morem, and points out that Vergil could have written moremque imponere paci, but the phrase would not have sounded so well.

Similarly, in a technical discussion, he differentiates between five varieties of sentence, four of which he illustrates with phrases from Vergil. The first is the oratio deprecativa, like Vergil's Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis; the second is the imperative such as suggere tela mihi, the third is interrogative such as Quo te Moeri pedes; the fourth vocative like Huc ades o Meliboe! The illustrations are all well-known Vergilian phrases. One of these passages is again adduced as an illustration in another discussion of the same subject. In the second part of the commentary on Aristotle the same subject is developed, again with illustrative quotations from Vergil. In another place he takes a line from Vergil and breaks it up so as to show the relation of the parts to each other. All of these Vergilian quotations in the Aristotle commentary are used to illustrate grammatical, rhetorical or metrical usage. In the works on arithmetic, geometry, and music there is no reference to Vergil.

In the De Consolatione there are no direct quotations of Vergil, but there are a number of instances where his language has been imitated rather closely. Thus, in the De Consol. IV, 2,

the phrase Neque enim levia aut ludicra praemia petunt is adapted from Aeneid XII, 764,

"neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur
praemia;"

and the expression in De Consol. IV, 6, quem tu iustissimum et aequi servantissimum putas is an evident reflection of Aeneid II, 426-7,

"iustissimus unus
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi."

Again, et serviat ultima Thyle of De Consol. III, 5, is a reminiscence of tibi serviat ultima Thule of Georgics I, 30.

The Vergilian tradition in Boethius is on the whole rather scanty for such a learned man. Owing to the fact that he was little concerned with essentially Christian doctrines, he was not affected by many of those phases of the Vergilian tradition of which the other Christian writers are full. For this reason we find no reference to Vergil as Messianic prophet or as Christian without Christ, there is no mention of that mystic and hieratic element which appealed to so many of the patristic writers. Boethius regarded Vergil solely from the standpoint of the scholar; all of the direct quotations are adduced as illustrations in some form of learned discussion. Vergil furnishes him with examples for metrical or grammatical demonstrations, he supplies him with figures of speech, he even to some extent colors his language, but that is all. The attitude of Boethius in this matter is no different from that of a scholar of the present day.

Conclusions

It is by no means easy to set down in a brief compass any general conclusions from a study of this nature. As I have elsewhere indicated, the extent to which Vergil appears in any one author is conditioned by that author's individuality no less than by the period in which he lived. The result is that each author bears to Vergil a different relation. The one fact which impresses us above all others is that Vergil was the favorite author of the Christians as he had been of the pagans. All the patristic writers who attained to any literary distinction--and many who did not--knew Vergil and used him constantly. Of all the great number of ecclesiastical writers, those who show absolutely no trace of Vergil are but few. Other classical writers were used by the Church Fathers, but not one of these attained to a tithe of that authority which is the distinguishing feature of Vergil.

The most general use of his works which appears in the Christian writers, and one which persists through all periods, is the employment of his language in conscious or unconscious reminiscence. The church writers had all been steeped in Vergil to such an extent that his phrases were an integral part of their vocabulary; his expressions flowed as it were naturally from their pens. Some of them are very full of this sort of reminiscence, others (h)ow it more rarely. Frequently, as in St. Cyprian, these recollections of Vergil are plainly evident;

we are suddenly caught by the sparkle of one of those "jewels five-words-long" in the middle of a phrase, and yet there will be nothing which will amount to a formal quotation. In many cases I think we are justified in regarding the borrowing as a conscious one, used because the author hoped to obtain, with Vergil's words, an effect which he was not sure of obtaining with his own. On the other hand, there are many instances where the borrowing must be acknowledged to be unconscious. These are the cases where only the use of one or two rare or unusual words will suggest that Vergil is the source of the phrase. An interesting phase of this imitation of Vergil's language is seen in Orientius who even imitates some of his archaisms. It should be noted that these verbal reminiscences occur more frequently in the poets than in the prose writers. This is but natural, since poetry lends itself more readily to the imitation of poetry, and then, too, direct quotations are not easily introduced into verse.

When we come to a consideration of the direct quotations we are met by a different condition. Most of these direct quotations are found in the prose writers. These citations, which appear very early in the history of Christian Latinity are used for all sorts of subjects. Thus Minucius Felix, the first of the Christian apologists, uses Vergilian phrases to strengthen his arguments on the unity of God. Many of the apologists avoid the direct quotation, and content themselves with more or less indirect reminiscences. It is not until we come to Lactantius, who has a quotation from Vergil on nearly every page, that we find

an author who shows wide use of them. Jerome and Augustine also afford many examples of the direct quotation, and after them there are other authors who quote Vergil, but no patristic writer has approached Augustine in number of direct citations. These are adduced on questions of the most divergent kind. Those of the patristic writers who quote Vergil revered him as an omniscient authority. First of all, he is referred to in what we may call a scholarly use, that is, his words are introduced to settle questions of syntax, grammar, prosody, and linguistic usage generally. By the sixth century his name had become identified with grammar to such an extent that a grammarian of that period calls himself Vergilius Maro. This authority which accrues to Vergil from the continual use of his works in the schools is extended until he is quoted not merely to settle questions of history, mythology, and general knowledge, but to lend weight to discussions of theology and religion. These quotations are used in support of the principles of the unity of God, of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, of the virgin birth of Christ, and other tenets of the Christian faith. The Christians who had read Vergil felt his profound human sympathy so that to them he was a man apart, the only one of the pagans who had approached the ideal of Christianity. Jerome and Augustine found passages in his works to illustrate passages of Scripture, and to the early Christian such a phrase as unum pro multis dabitur caput (Aen. V, 815) seemed to savor of direct inspiration. Hence it is that the patristic writers, filled with a deep sense of Vergil's humanity and wisdom, used his words

as corroborative testimony for their religion, quoted them in connection with the Scriptures, and even used them as a sort of Scriptural commentary.

The reverence of the early Christians for Vergil was such that they found in his Fourth Eclogue a prophecy of the Messiah and of the coming glories of the kingdom of Christ. The doctrine of the Messianic prophecy appears for the first time in literature in the writings of Lactantius, and after that we find many references to it. Jerome denounced it in no uncertain terms, but Augustine accorded to it full sanction, so that eventually it came to be accepted as a matter of course. The belief in the Messianic prophecy, which thus developed early in the history of the church, continued down past the time when Alexander Pope wrote his "Messiah", and even in histories of literature composed during the past half-century we find solemn discussions of whether or not Vergil in his Fourth Eclogue had actually had a vision of the Messiah.

Side by side with the quotations calculated to support Christian doctrines are those adduced with the purpose of combating the religious theories of the pagans. A favorite text for the ecclesiastical writers was the danger and immorality of the pagan faith, and on this point the favorite poet of the Romans is frequently cited against themselves. For instance, he is referred to for proof that Juppiter was a man and not a god; he is quoted on the subject of the images of Priapus; his description of Jove's accession is used to prove that the pagan religions were marked by the deepest depravity. His statement that the gods are offended at the morals of their worshippers, and that

the pagan deities can offer any real help to those who believe in them, is quoted only to be refuted. These examples might be continued almost indefinitely, since whenever one of the church writers found a Vergilian phrase which might conceivably be used in the rebuttal of the heathens, he was quick to seize upon it as a weapon.

Continued reading of Vergil naturally brought it about that his characters became perfectly familiar to everyone. Hence, when one of the patristic writers needed an illustrative example of pagan traits, he would summon up a character of Vergil the better to illustrate the point at issue. Thus, in discussions of pagan virtues and vices Vergil's picture of the "pius Aeneas" was by Tertullian and Lactantius taken as standard and typical, and then held up to ridicule. All the laxities of this model of pagan heroism and manly virtue are mercilessly exposed; his protestations of filial piety are mocked, his treachery and infidelity are contrasted with the attitude of the Christian. Another Vergilian character who is frequently used as a personified abstraction is the unhappy Dido. Here, to be sure, as in Tertullian's account, the versions of the legend differ, but none the less the Carthaginian queen is held up as a type of pagan morality for women as Aeneas is for men. Whether or not there is any polemic purpose lurking behind this introduction of Vergilian characters as exempla, we must recognize that it is paying a distinct tribute to their chronicler to use his characters in such a familiar fashion.

Whenever the Christian writers indulge in literary criticism and give personal opinions on Vergil, their verdicts are almost always of a complimentary nature. It is true that some of the uncompromising moralists like Tertullian and Arnobius indulge in general condemnation of the pagans, while Commodianus and Rufinus single out Vergil for their attacks; but it is equally true that these men had themselves read Vergil, and with the exception of Rufinus, give plentiful indications of a knowledge of him in their writings. As a matter of fact these very attacks on Vergil postulate on the part of those who made them a recognition of his authority. This is most plainly seen in Commodianus, who in giving a list of the pagan authors whose insidious influence he decries, puts Vergil's name first. There were other patristic writers of a broader culture, like Augustine for example, who neither unreservedly lauded nor censured Vergil, but were content to commend him for those sentiments of which they could conscientiously approve, at the same time deprecating those expressions of opinion which could not be brought into accord with the strict principles of Christianity. This attitude remained the prevalent one until the decisive victory of Christianity relieved its adherents of any misgivings with regard to the pagan authors, and then the Christian scholars became outspoken in their admiration of Vergil.

A consideration of the evidence shows that no one work of Vergil was selected to be read to the exclusion of the others; his poems were all to some extent read and studied. The *Aeneid*, the national epic, appears most often, the patristic writers

never wearied of quoting it and referring to it. Next in order of popularity are perhaps the Eclogues. Interest in these had been stimulated by the belief in the supposed Messianic prophecy in the Fourth, so that the admiration for that one had to a large extent been transferred to the others. Quotations from the Eclogues, particularly from the Fourth, are second in number only to the "scraps of thunderous epic" which the ecclesiastical authors are fond of citing from the Aeneid.

Last as regards frequency of citation are the Georgics. They lacked the national spirit of the Aeneid, nor was there implanted in them any sacred spirit as in the Eclogues; they were forced to rely for their popularity upon their intrinsic beauty. This quality endeared them to not a few; many an apt phrase and striking allusion did the Church Fathers adduce from the Georgics; but they never attained to the popularity which distinguished the Aeneid and the Eclogues. The poems of the Appendix Vergiliana are very seldom used; out of the long list of patristic writers treated of in this study only four show traces of a knowledge of the Appendix. These traces are not striking in themselves; they occur as echoes --some of them very faint--in the works of the poets Iuvencus, Prudentius, Claudius Marius Victor, and Ennodius. It is impossible to discern whether these poets believe the poems in that collection to be authentically Vergilian. There is nothing in the nature of direct quotation from any of them, there are merely a few dim reminiscences which indicate on their part some knowledge of the Appendix Vergiliana. To the majority of the ecclesiastical writers these poems seem

to have been entirely unknown.

There is one important phase of the Vergil legend which does not appear in the Christian writers of the period under discussion, namely, the tradition of his magical powers. The legends which assigned to him thaumaturgic qualities took their inception among the folk who were not affected by any scholastic tradition. In order for Vergil to acquire a reputation as a worker of wonders it was necessary that there spring up among the people a series of legends entirely different from the well established literary and academic tradition. The scholars had regarded Vergil as a scholar, as a man of universal and infallible wisdom. Now in the ages of Christian barbarism it was hard to divorce wisdom from magic, hence when the myths of Vergil's magical powers had become firmly established among the people, they gradually found their way into the literature, because a favorable soil had long been in preparation for them there. Many of the Christian writers had made Vergil omniscient, they had endowed him with authority on the most diverse subjects, but they never overtly accorded to him any direct knowledge of the magic art. A hint of this is in Fulgentius who makes Vergil a saturnine and arrogant mystic, but even here we find no knowledge of the black art attributed to him. As a matter of fact, the earliest reference in literature to Vergil's abilities as a wizard occurs in the Polycraticus of John of Salisbury, the

date of which is about 1159.¹ It may be safely assumed that the tradition of Vergil as a warlock was of early development among the people; just how early, it is, of course, impossible to state. We may conjecture that such legends were current during the first six centuries of Christianity; but it required so long for the scholarly mind to embrace the delusion ~~that~~ it is not until the twelfth century that the myth makes its initial appearance in the literature.

¹

Cf. Schwieger, *Der Zauberer Virgil*, (Berlin 1897), p. 55; Comparetti, p. 250.

VITA

Harrison Cadwallader Coffin was born in St. Paul, Minn., September 21, 1894. His early education was received in the public schools of Massachusetts, New York City, and Baltimore. In 1912 he was graduated from the Baltimore City College. In 1916 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the Johns Hopkins University, and entered upon graduate work in Latin, Greek, and Sanscrit. In 1918 he received the degree of Master of Arts in Latin. From 1918 to 1919 he served in the Army of the United States. From 1912 to 1917 he held Hopkins Scholarships, and from 1917 to 1918, and from 1919 to 1920 he was Edmund Law Rogers Fellow in the Classics.

The writer wishes to take this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to the late Professor Kirby Flower Smith who suggested the subject for this study, and gave most generously of his inspiration and counsel in the preparation of the early part of it; and to Professor W. P. Mustard who has read the entire manuscript, and has been untiring in rendering assistance. In its present form, the dissertation owes much to Professor Mustard's accurate scholarship, his refined judgment, and his candid criticism.



